

THE
LIFE and REIGNE
OF
Our SOVEREIGN LORD
K I N G
CHARLES the II.

In a compendious Chronicle
relating both to his Majesties
Person and Affairs.

*With the chief Transactions of State
in the Three Kingdoms from
Birth to this present.*

By a Lover of his Prince and Country.

L O N D O N
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To the Happy Preserver of
his Sacred Majesty, the LADY

JANE LANE.

MADAME,



*His small
Volume
humbly
Offered
to your Hand con-
tains part of the
Life and Reigne of
one of the Greatest*

*

3

Mo

The Epistle

Monarchs in the
World : The rest,
'tis hoped, as it will
be the employment
of a more elegant
Pen , so it will
not be accomplisht
till it afford a
Chronicle of more
years Prosperities
in these Nations
then

Dedictory.

*e then this is of
Miseries. That I
have presumed to
dedicate it to your
Ladiship, if I in-
curre the censure
of boldness, I am
confident every one
will commend the
fittesse of my
Choice: Since no-
thing*

The Epistle

*thing could be more
proper then to in-
title your Ladship
to the Relation of
that Life, which,
next under the Di-
vine Providence,
you were chiefly in-
strumental to pre-
serve. To you, Ma-
dame, we owe all
that*

Dedictory.

*that can be ow'd
from Christians,
Subjects, or Men,
to any person upon
Earth; by whose
dangerous but ever
memorable Fidelity
we are at length
restor'd to what-
ever is dear to us in
those three capaci-
ties;*

The Epistle

*ties ; and which is
no small considera-
tion , to the liberty
of publishing the
impartiall truths
(as far as the best
Relations afford-
ed) in this Book.
Nor is the present
Age onely oblig'd
to you, but your glo-
ry*

Dedictory.

ry shall live upon
Record, and your
Name, (embalmed
with praises) be
preserved in the
memory of thank-
full Posterity. In
all which respects,
I have thought it
my duty both in te-
stimony of my par-
ticu-

The Epistle, &c.
*ticular Loyalty &
Gratitude to pre-
sent this Piece to
your Ladship as
the Person that
ha's the greatest
right to it, & with-
all publickly to ac-
knowledge my self,*

MADAME,

Your Ladships most devoted Ser-
vant and Eternal Honorer

FR. EGLESFIELD.



A true and accurate Relation of the
 LIFE and REIGN
 Of our Sovereign Lord and King
CHARLES the II.

KING *Charles* the first of
 that name, having soon
 after his coming to the
 Crown married *Henrietta*
Maria youngest daughter of *Henry*
 the fourth, and sister of *Leopold* the
 thirteenth, Kings of *France*, was
 blessed with a Son on the twenty
 ninth day of *May*, one thousand, six
 hundred and thirty. Upon whose
 birth, as the King was going in so-
 lemn manner to the Church of

A

S. Paul

S. Paul in *London*, to present his gratefull devotions to God for his own and the Nations happineſſe, in receiving ſo eminent a Pledge of his favour, there was obſerv'd a new Star appearing in the time of mid-day; as if the Heavens ſeem'd by an extraordinary Production to æmulate the new ſplendor of the Earth. The young Prince was baptiſed at *S. James's* on the twenty ſeventh of *July* next enſuing by the hand of *Dr. Laud* then Biſhop of *London* (*Dr. Abbot* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* being rendred uncapable by an unhappy accident of ſhooting a man) and received his Father's name, *Charles*: his Godfathers were his two Uncles, *Lewis* the thirteenth, King of *France*, and *Frederick* King of *Bohemia* and Prince Elector *Palatine* of the *Rhine*; whoſe abſence occaſioning them to depute their ſubſtitutes, the late Duke *Hamilton* represented his Ma-
jeſty

jeſty of *France*, and the Duke of *Richmond* the King of *Bohemia*. His Godmother was *Maria de Medicis*, Queen dowager of *France*, represented by the Dutcheſſe of *Richmond*.

It deſerves our notice, that he was born the greateſt Prince that ever theſe Nations knew; never any before him having been born heir apparent to the Crowns of *England*, *Scotland*, *France* and *Ireland*; which was intimated in the Silver coynes made at the ſolemnity of his Baptiſm, on the reverſe ſide whereof were the Armes of thoſe four Kingdomes with this Motto, *Hactenus Anglorum nulli*.

On the fourth day of *November*, one thouſand, ſix hundred, thirty one, it pleaſed the Divine Providence to enlarge the Royal Family by the birth of a Daughter, the Lady *Mary*, who was afterwards (viz. 2. *May* 1641.) married to *William* of *Naffau*,

ſaw Prince of Orange, by whom ſhe hath a poſthume Son, named *VVil- liam*: a Princeſs whoſe perfections qualiſi'd her for the bed of the great- eſt Potentate in Chriſtendome, had not the intereſt of Religion been more conſider'd in her match then amplitude of Territory or Title.

By the bleſſing of Heaven upon the Royal bed, the King became father to another Son, the moſt illu- ſtrious and renowned *James* Duke of *York*, upon the thirteenth of *October*, in the year One thouſand, ſix hun- dred, thirty three; he was ſolemnly baptiſed on *S. James's* day next fol- lowing, and within a few dayes after created Duke of *York*; a Title born by his Father, during the life of Prince *Henry* his elder bro- ther.

This Prince hath, though yet in his youth, ſo ſignalized himſelf by his valour in the Armies of the Kings
of

of *Spain* and *France*, that I think this Age (nor perhaps any of old) cannot afford his parallel.

His Majesty likewise had another Son brought forth to him by his Royal Consort upon the twentieth day of *July* 1640. who was Christned *Henry*, and created Duke of *Glocester*: And a Daughter at *Excester*, during the Warres upon the sixteenth of *June* 1644. named after her Royal mother *Henrietta Maria*.

This is the surviving Issue of our late Sovereign of blessed memory: And having thus briefly given an account of the Parentage and Birth of these Illustrious Princes, I shall proceed to represent the Life of Him who is particularly the Argument of this Relation, CHARLES Prince of *Wales*, now our Sovereign Lord King of Great Britain, *France* and *Ireland*, &c.

The care of his *Infancy* was com-

mitted to the right honourable the Countess of *Dorset*, wife to the last Earle; 'till, after some yeares, having out-grown female conduct, the present Marquess of *Newcastle* was chosen by the King as a fit person to imbue his *Youth* with all the accomplishments requisite to greatness, and the Reverend Dr. *Duppa* Lord Bishop of *Chichester* and now of *Salisbury*, as one able to form his tender mind to true Religion and Virtue.

Every year of his Childhood afforded new promises and hopes, and even in that age, which usually has not the advantage of discretion either totally to subdue or at least to dissemble the motions of passions, he express'd on all occasions an extraordinary goodnesse and sweetness of nature, seeming to have been born with that equal temper of mind, which few men render themselves capable

capable of by the help of Philosophy and Religion. Nor were his inclinations to Virtue more remarkable then those he had to excellent and solid Arts, which the composednesse of his *Genius* render'd more acceptable to him then the levity of the most exquisite divertisements.

In the ninth year of his Age he hapned to break his arme, and was very sickly, falling first into a Feaver and shortly after into the Jaundies; but by the favour of the divine providence, he happily overcame his distempers, and afterwards attain'd a firmer health.

When he came to sit in the House of Peers (1640) his first action in publick affairs was the carrying the King's Letter to them, in favour of that noble but unfortunate Lord, the Earl of *Strafford*; the King hoping that when all other respects could not prevail upon them, at least the

consideration of the dignity and goodnesse of this Royal Messenger might something move them to reflect upon the hard measure they had determin'd for him. But through the cruel fate of this brave man (or rather that of these three Kingdomes) the heat of I know not what strange zeal had made them so thirsty for his bloud, that a day or two's respite of execution of the severest sentence that ever was given, was more then could be afforded to the desires of their King though presented by the hands of their Prince. This repulse he suffer'd, was certainly the beginning (if not the cause) of all his ensuing sufferings, and those of the Nation's too. For soon after hapned that fatall misunderstanding between the King and the Parliament: which occasioning the King's withdrawing from *London*, he commanded the Prince to attend him
first

first at *Greenwich*, then at *Hampton-Court*, then at *Theobalds*; the incensed Parliament and City in the mean time regretting his escape out of their hands, having design'd to make advantage of his person according as the contingency of their affairs should suggest to them. From thence with the Duke of *York* he accompanies his Father to *New-market*, and from thence into *Yorkshire*, where they all stood before the gates of *Hull* and were deny'd admission by Sir *John Hotham*, 'till at length the two Princely brothers were by his special favour permitted as children to see the Town.

At *York*, the Northern Nobility and Gentry offering their service to his Majesty, received thanks for it, but were not made use of (for prevention of jealousy) 'till a greater danger induc'd the King to neglect his safety no longer, and accordingly

A 5

he

he selected a company of gallant and loyal persons for his Life guard, which were commanded by the young Prince; *His Majesty assuring them they should hazard their lives no further in defence of their Countries Lawes and Liberties then himself; and that they should endanger themselves no farther for his person then his own dear Child.*

In this manner he accompanied the King from *York* to *Newark* in *Nottinghamshire*, and from thence to *Lincoln*, and *Leicester*, and back again into *Yorkshire*: in which progress the King endeavoured to satisfy the Counties he passed through, of the uprightness of his intentions for the good of the Nations, and evidenc'd to them the desperate courses the Parliament engaging in order to deprive him of the Royalty left him from his Predecessours, and this under pretence of
Liberty

Liberty and Religion. At his return into *Yorkshire*, the King informes the Gentlemen there of the Parliaments forwardnesse to a War, desires them to spare him some Armes, and to compleat Prince *Charles's* Regiment for the guard of his person under the command of the Earle of *Cumberland*.

Not long after, the King having gather'd a considerable Army, was met between *Kinton* and *Edge-hill* in *Warwickshire* by that of the Parliament under the conduct of the Earl of *Essex*; There was the first considerable battle fought of our civill Wars. The Prince was then in the field, and the Honourable Earle of *Lindsey* (who was the King's Generall, and lost his life in the fight) looking upon him very attentively a little before the conjunction of the Armies. I know not by what Propheticall instinct utter'd these words,

There's

*There's a Child, born to end that VVar
we now begin.* Which how miracu-
lously accomplish't, we cannot but
gratefully acknowledge; the civill
Wars having continued ever since;
the Army which had subdued the
one Party, afterwards turning their
swords upon those that first em-
ploy'd them, and the poor Nations
being rul'd by the sword, and always
in a state of War, and groaning un-
der the miseries inflicted on it by ar-
med Oppressours.

After this the King retir'd with
the Prince to *Oxford*, and commit-
ted him to the Right Honourable
the Marquesse of *Hertsford*, then and
still Chancellor of that University,
who provided for him severall wor-
thy persons in the quality of Tutors
for his instruction in all such langua-
ges and Sciences as were conveni-
ent for the accomplishment of a
Prince. During his residence there
it

it pleased God to visit him with the Meazles, and that not without some danger of death, which by the Divine mercy and indulgence to these Nations he avoided, & is respited we hope for many years. Here he was very diligent in commendable studies intermix'd with ingenious and innocent pleasures; and upon the King's summoning a Parliament thither, which convened the 22 of January 1644. himself with his noble Brother the Duke of York sate with the rest of the Nobility in the Upper Schooles which were designed for the House of Lords (as the Convocation House was to the Commons) who were no inconsiderable number, there being present at that Assembly, besides these two young Princes, the Lord Keeper *Littleton*, the Lord Treasurer *Cottington*, the Duke of *Richmond*, the Marquess of *Herrford*, nineteen Earles, three and twen-

twenty Barons, and a hundred and forty Knights and Gentlemen.

The next year the Prince betakes himself into the field, being now about fifteen years old; his first course was Westward, where by his Majesties Order he had attendants appointed him suitable to the grandeur and state of an heir to three Crowns; He set up a Royall Court, and chose out a Retinue at his own pleasure (the King though disapproving the action in a Letter to the Queen, yet admiring his discretion in the Election of them) scarce inferiour (as a great observer affirm'd) to that of his deceased Uncle Prince Henry. During this time the King of *Portugal* sends over an Embassadour, who amongst severall specious proposals relating to his Majesties present exigencies, renders one for a Marriage between the Daughter of that King and the Prince of *Wales*; which for
good

good reasons the King his father put off with a civill answer, importing a deniall of the proposition, though (as the policy of State-affairs often makes it necessary to do) in words expressing no dislike of it.

After that fatall battle of *Naseby*. which turn'd the scale to the disadvantage of the Royall Interest, severall Overtures interven'd between Prince *Charles*, the Lord *Goring*, and the Parliamentarian General *Fairfax*; but the two former alwayes receiv'd the same answer from him, which signified nothing, viz. *That he was but a servant to the Parliament, and could not exceed his Commission, which impower'd him onely to fight; therefore in reference to a Treaty, application ought to be made to his Masters at Westminster.* The Prince accordingly writes to him again to grant the Lords, *Hopton* and *Culpepper* leave to attend the King,
and

and mediate with him for a Treaty with the Parliament : to which the General upon grave consultation with his Committee of War returns his desire, *That his Highnesse would be pleased to disband his Army, and he would conduct him with honour to the Parliament.* This seeming too hard a condition, the Lord Capel by the Princes command reply'd by Letter, " That his Highnesse did
" not believe that his overture of
" engaging himself in the mediation
" of a blessed Peace for this miserable
" Kingdome would have brought
" him an inhibition to quit his duty
" to his Royal Father by dividing his
" Interest from that of his Majesty;
" whereby he should render himself
" unworthy and incapable of the
" fruit of that peace he laboured for.
" If his Proposition might be consent-
" ed to, he hop'd God would so bless
" his sincere intentions and desires

“as to make him a blessed Instru-
“ment to preserve this Kingdome
“from dissolution. But if that be re-
“jected, he should give the world no
“cause to believe, that he would for-
“feit that honour which only can pre-
“serve him in a capacity of doing
“that service, & should with patience
“attend God’s good pleasure, untill
“his endeavours may be applyed
“with preservation of his Innocence.
“This is all I have in command from
“his Highnesse.

Your Servant,

A. C A P E L.

Such were the honourable, loyal,
and good intentions of this noble
Prince, and such was the insolence
of the Victors, and the fate of this
Nation, that no mediation could be
acceptable that might prevent its ap-
proaching totall ruine: so that this
gene-

generous Letter receiv'd no other answer but silence.

Shortly after the Prince repairs to *Oxford*, and there reconciles his Cousins the Princes, *Rupert* and *Maurice*, to his Father their Uncle. From thence also he writes severall Letters to the Speaker of the House of Peers, containing Propositions for reconciliation and peace; which notwithstanding took no effect. Therefore he departs into the West, with intent to raise the forces of his Dukedome of *Cornwall* and the County of *Devon* for the relief of *Exceter*, which was at that time besieged by Sir *Thomas Fairfax*. In order to which he commits his own Army to the conduct of the Lord *Hopton*, who soon after resolv'd to come upon the back of *Fairfax*, and accordingly advanced to *Torrington* with 5000. Horse, and 4000 Foot. *Fairfax* hearing this leaves his siege,
and

and marches towards *Torrington*. The Battel began near the Town, which was after a sharp encounter taken; and the Lord *Hopton* himself shot in the thigh, but escaped away to *Stratton*. His Highnesse in the mean time was at *Lariston*, but understanding the Approach of *Fairfax's* Army, he quitteth it, leaving Colonel *Basset* behind him with 500. Foot and Horse, who skirmished with the *Parliamentarians* and being soon worsted, got off by the favour of the darknesse of the Night. The Prince in the mean time goes to *Pendennis*, where finding the pursuit so hot, he imbarqued himself for the Isle of *Scilly* on the first of *March* 1646. accompanied by the Lords *Goring* and *Culpeper*, and Sir *Edward Hyde*. Soon after his departure, the Lord *Hopton* finding *Fairfax's* successes daily to increase, and himself unable to do any service
to

to check them with those broken Forces he had left, desires a cessation; but the General summons him to lay down Armes; upon which ensued a Treaty at *Tresilian* Bridge, Sir *Thomas Fairfax* quartering at *Truro*, and the Lord *Hopton* further westward; between whom it was agreed, upon the thirteenth of *March*, “ That the Lord *Hopton* “ should disband his Army in the “ west, and have fifty Horse of his “ own and fifty of General *Fairfax*’s, “ for his Convoy to *Oxford*: That all “ strangers should have passes to go “ beyond Seas, & to carry with them “ what was their own without Horses “ & Armes. That all *English* Officers “ should go home to their respective “ habitations, or if they pleas’d, beyond “ Sea: each Colonel to have his horse, “ and two men to wait on him; each “ Captain one man and horse; the “ Troopers 20 s. apiece, and to go “ whither they pleased. Such

Such was the Fate of the Royall Cause, under the conduct of this Heroical Prince, who wanted fortune rather then virtue to be happy.

Hitherto we have with all succinctnesse and verity represented the adventures and actions of his Highnesse from his infancy here in *England*. He was now about sixteen years old, the last six of which he had been a spectatour of his Father's calamities, and the ruine of his native Countrey, having been a sufferer in both, as soon as he was become capable to distinguish between good and evil. Most part of his tender age was spent in Armies, amongst the tumults and noise of an unfortunate War; and now he finds himself enforced to quit the Territory of *England*, leaving the King his Father with the Duke of York, and the two *Palatine* Princes, *Rupert* and *Maurice*, closely besieged in *Oxford* by the

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the Parliaments Forces, and most of the other Garrisons of the King's ready to surrender to the power of their victorious Armies. The sense of all which certainly had been insupportable by a spirit lesse courageous and firm against such heavy adversities then that of this young Heroe. We must now follow him into the Island of *Scilly*, where he had not been long, but a solemn message is sent from the Parliament, *to invite him to come to them, and to reside in such places as they thought convenient, with such Attendants and Counsellors as should be by them appointed.* It being no part of my design to comment upon any passages of this History, but only to represent things nakedly as they were done, I shall forbear to make any conjectures what the intentions of the Parliament were in this invitation, leaving the Readers to their own judgment.

ment. Indeed the Prince had inducements enough to move him to accept of their offer, his Father's condition in a manner desperate, his own little better, having no hopes left but those slender ones of foreign succour; it might have seem'd the best and safest course to a young Prince to secure his succession at least to the Government to have gone to them upon honourable terms; according to the example of *Edward the 3.* in the life-time of his father *Edward the 2.* But loyalty prevailed above all other considerations, and therefore upon 24. of *April* he returns this prudent Answer; *That it became him not to doe any thing in a matter of that concernment, without his Royall Father's privacy, advice, and free consent; and therefore before he could satisfie the Honourable House, he desired that a passe might be granted for the Lord Capel*

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Capel

Capel to go to the King at Oxford, to take his advice, and hearken to his Royall pleasure, and make some overtures to him in order to a peace. Moreover he desired that the Reverend Arch-bishop of *Armagh*, a person of transcendent learning, great moderation, and of an unspotted and inoffensive life, might have liberty to come to him. These proposals, though extreme fair and reasonable, were offer'd to deaf cares, and took no effect.

In the mean time *Fairfax* having taken in the City of *Exceter*, and the town of *Barnstable* upon Articles, marches against *Oxford*, which put the King upon thoughts of providing for his own safety; and therefore on the 12. of *April*, he went out of *Oxford* in a disguise with *Parson Hudson*, waiting upon Mr. *John Ashburnham*, and upon the 6. of *May* got to the *Scots* Army before *Newark*.

Newark. Soon after which Sir *Thomas Glenham* surrendered the City of *Oxford* to General *Fairfax* upon the 24. of *June* 1646. The Duke of *York* was carried from thence to Saint *James's*, where he met with his Sister the *Princessse Henrietta Maria*, who was sent thither from the surrender of *Exceter*, but was shortly after conveyed from *Oatlands* over to her Mother in *France*, by her Governesse the *Lady Dalkeith*.

From the Island of *Scilly*, the Prince removed to that of *Guernsey*, where he had not long been, but an Ordinance is put out against him in the nature of a *Ban*, prohibiting all persons to repair to him, or correspond with him by letter or otherwise, upon pain of death without mercy. Whereupon his abode here being so uncomfortable, he betakes himself for *France*, to visit his Mother and that Court; there he was

received with great demonstrations of joy by all parties, excepting the dissembling Cardinal *Mazarine*, who though he pretended much respect, yet was he inwardly glad to see him in distress and exile. From hence the Queen being willing to comply with the active desires of her Son (which inclin'd him to break through these clouds of misery and retirement, which seem'd wholly to obscure him) writes to the King by Major *Bosvil*, requesting him to permit the Prince to go into the field with his Uncle, the Duke of *Orleans*, that summer in the head of a *French* Army, that was then design'd for an expedition into *Flanders* against the *Spaniard*. To which his Majesty refus'd to condescend, partly for that he judg'd it an imployment below a Prince of Great *Britain* to serve any other King but his own, whose pay and orders were once receiv'd by a

Roman Caesar, and partly because he knew not how soon his service might be necessary for his own Couhtrey: and therefore he commands him to wave that design, and await his further instructions.

In the mean time it pleased the King of kings to lay his hand upon him, and visit him with an intermitting Feyer, which continued upon him for the space of some weeks; 'till by the divine blessing upon the Physitian's care, he was recover'd to perfect health. Soon after which he receiv'd a Commission from his Royal Father to be *Generalissimo* of all the Loyal forces that survived of the late unsuccessfull battels and garrisons. While he is advising about this affair, the Kingdom of *Scotland* out of tenderness of the Prince's safety, honour and conscience, move the King, "That his Son, the present hope
"and future happinesse of these Na-

"tions, might not be exposed in his
 "youth to the dangers which en-
 "compassed him in the *French*
 "Court, particularly in reference to
 "his Religion, the perversion of
 "which might have fatal conse-
 "quences in these three Kingdoms.
 Whereupon his Majesty from *New-*
castle (whether the *Scots*, fearing
 least General *Fairfax* should fall up-
 on them and compel them to deliver
 him up, retir'd with him) writes to
 him, *That he should wait upon his Mo-*
ther, and obey her dutifully in all
things, Religion only excepted, and that
he should not stir any whether without
his directions. The *Scots* also (by
 their Committee of Estates) write
 themselves to the Prince to invite
 him thither, " Professing that none
 " of the late calamities (except those
 " that had befallen his Royal Father)
 " afflicted them more then his High-
 " nesse's absence: And seeing their
 Forces

" Forces had entered *England* to doe
 " their duty to Religion, his Majesty
 " and his Highnesse they humbly de-
 " sire he would please to honour and
 " countenance their pious and loyal
 " endeavours with his gracious pre-
 " sence, for whose honour, safety
 " and freedom they engage the
 " publick Faith of that Kingdome.

Signed,

Crawford, Lindsey.

In Answer to this, he desires the
 Earle of *Louderdail* to return his ac-
 knowledgements to the States of
Scotland, and assure them he would
 doe nothing misbecoming a good
 Prince, or unfavourable to their civi-
 lity.

But the Prince in pursuance of his
 instructions, negotiating in behalfe of
 his Father's affairs in the *French*
 Court, by his Mother's assistance,

(whom her nearnesse of blood, great deserts and low condition made powerfull there) prevails with the *French* to advance ten thousand pounds for the Marquesse of *Ormond*, towards the furtherance of his Majestie's affairs in *Ireland*, as an earnest of greater matters. And some remainders of his *Cornish* Forces getting to a head, others upon order marching to him out of *Ireland*, he goes to meet them at the Island of *Jersey*, with such Forces as he had gotten together beyond sea, especially in *France* by his Mother's means, and in *Holland* by the mediation of his young Brother in Law, *William* of *Nassau* Prince of *Orange*, who about this time succeeded his Father *Henry* in the dignity of General and Admiral of the United Provinces. He possessed himself likewise of some Vessels in the Island, adding others to them which he hired in *France*.

While

While his Highnesse lay here, a Letter is sent to him from the Parliament by the hands of Coionel *Russel* their Governour of *Guernsey*, which lyes six or seven Leagues distant from *Iersey*. The effect of it was, to desire him for his Father's, his own and the three Kingdomes sake, to return to them, where he should find all due respects Subjects could afford, or his Highnesse expect. The Design was to get the person of the Prince into their hands, as the *Scots* had that of the King; but it took no effect; the Prince proceeding to manage his affairs by sea and land to such advantage as might enable his Royal Father to stand in the approaching Treaty on such termes as might consist with his Conscience and his Honour.

On *July* the 27. following, sixteen General Propositions with sundry Qualifications were presented to

the King at *Newcastle*, by the Earles of *Pembroke*, *Suffolk*, &c. who were limited to ten dayes; which the King judging unreasonable refused to consent to, and desir'd to come to *London* and treat personally. After which the *Scots* general Assembly send a Remonstrance to his Majesty, desiring him to settle matters in *England* according to the COVENANT, and to signe the Parliaments Propositions. And Chancellor *London* told him plainly there was no other means for him to close with his Two Houses. And moreover if he lost *England*, he should not be admitted to reign in *Scotland*. But the King still persisting in his denyal, the *Scots* who had hitherto somewhat sharply disputed about the disposall of his Person, are content upon the receipt of a good summe of Money, to depart home and leave the King in the power of the Parliament; who voted

ted him to *Holmby* House, and sent Commissioners to receive and convey him thither, where he arriv'd on the 17. of *February* 164⁶.

The War was now totally finished, and dissentions brake out between the Parliament and their Army; an accomodement of which is undertaken by Commissioners chosen on both sides. But the Army judging it would be advantageous for their concernments to get the King into their hands, sent Cornet *Joyce* to *Holmby* with 500. Horse upon the fourth of *June*, who took the King from thence by night, without the privity and consent of the Parliament, or the General himself (as he profess'd in a Letter to them.) And now the damnable Mysterie of Iniquity begins to work; they march up to *S. Albans* against the Parliaments order, refuse to deliver the King's person to their Commis-

ners, and amongst other insolencies impeach eleven members of the House of Commons. The Speaker (though he had the day before protested against such a dishonourable Act in the Abbey Church at *Westminster*) flies to the Army with several Members. The City stick to the remaining part of the Parliament, for the restoring of the King, and declare against the Army. *Fairfax* marches up to *London* which prepar'd to oppose him, enters the City with 20000. Horse and Foot upon the 6. of *August*, re-establishes the Members, receives their thanks, puts *Tichbourn* into the Tower of *London* as Lieutenant, takes up his Head-Quarters at *Kingston*, and places the King *Hampton Court*. Within a few dayes after several members of the House are accused of Treason, as Sir *John Maynard*, *Denzil Hollis*, Sir *William Waller*, Major General

neral *Massey*, &c. Sir *John Gayer*; and four Aldermen, *Culham*, *Bunce*, *Langham* and *Adams* are committed to the Tower, and the Earles of *Suffolk*, *Lincoln*, *Middlesex* with the Lords *Berkley*, *Maynard*, *Hunsdon* and *VVilloughby* of *Parham* to the Black Rod. All the Works of the City are voted to be cast down, upon pretence of bringing in the King; but indeed (according to the design of the Army, sutably to whose pleasure they acted) to disable it from resistance. Propositions are sent to the King, the same in effect with the former of *Newcastle*. Agitators are set up by the Souldiers amongst themselves to carry on their Interests. The *Scots* Commissioners send a Letter to the Speaker of the House of Commons for a personal Treaty between his Majesty and the Commissioners of both Nations. But whilst new Propositions are preparing, the King
being

being inform'd of designs against his Life, escapes from *Hampton-Court*, with intent to go to the Isle of *Iersey*, where the Prince still lay. At his coming to the sea-shoar, he found himself disappointed of a ship, and therefore goes with Col. *Legg* to *Tedsworth* to the Countess Dowager of *Southampton's* house, and sends Sir *John Berkley* and Mr. *Ashburnham* (which three accompanied him in his escape) to the Isle of *Wight* to *L.G. Hammond*, of whom he had with no great reason entertain'd some hopes. *Hammond* goes with them and fetches the King to *Carisbrook* Castle. Hence he sends a Letter to the Parliament & the *Scots* Commissioners granting all they could desire. Whereupon new Propositions are sent to him, which the *Scots* protest against as too derogatory to his Honour; and therefore they are refused. Hereupon the incensed Com-
mons

mons Vote no further Addresses to him; which presently endears them to the Army again.

Affairs standing in this ill posture, the Prince with the Duke of York (who had escaped in woman's apparel from *S. James's* and landed at *Dort* in *Holland* by the help of Col. *Bampfild* sent over purposely on that design by the Queen) Prince *Rupert*, the Lords *Hopton*, *Wilmot*, *Villoughby*, *Brainford*, *Culpepper*, *Ruthen*, Sir *Henry Palmer*, &c. in his own ships and those that had revolted, in all twenty sail, with 2000. men, moved to and fro in the Downes and upon the southern Coast, to lay hold of any opportunity that might present it self for the service of his Father, sending forth several Commissions to that purpose, to persons of honour and trust who might promote his affairs by land; as to the Marq. of *Ormond*, the Lord *Inchequin*, and
Monz.

Montgomery in *Ireland*, to the Committee of States in *Scotland* and their Officers; to the Lord *Goring* in *Kent*, and the Lord *Capel* in *Essex*, to Sir *Thomas Glenham* and Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* in the North, to Col. *Poyer*, *Laughorn* and *Powel* in *Wales*, as also to Sir *Edw. Hales*, Sir *Charles Lucas*, the Duke of *Buckingham*, the Earles of *Holland* and *Peterborough*. Letters of correspondence passe mutually between him and the *Scots*, his Father and the City; whereof some are intercepted, in which the City, the Lords and some Commons are intimated ready to contribute all assistance possible.

For the better satisfaction of the World his Highnesse was pleased to publish a most gracious Declaration which consisted of the ensuing Particulars: 1. For the establishment of Religion according to his Majesties agreement of the 26. of *December* last,

last, viz. *That Presbytery should be continued for Three yeares, and a free debate to be had, between the Divines assembled at Westminster, and twenty whom his Majesty should appoint, about the settlement of Church Government for the future.* 2. For the performance of the said Agreement, and pursuance of the concessions on the King's part: (which were, *That the Parliament should dispose of the Militia, and have the choice of his privy Counsellors during his Reign, &c. That the Arrears of the Army be pay'd, &c.* 3. For restoring the King to a personal Treaty. 4. For the just Priviledges of Parliament. 5. for an Act of Oblivion. 6. For the Liberty of the Subject, and the abolishing Excise, Taxes and Free Quarter, &c. 7. For disbanding of all Armies and settling of Peace. 8. For the defence of the Narrow Seas, securing of Trade, support of the Navy and Sea.

Seamen, &c. This excellent Declaration was seconded with a Letter from his Highnesse to the House of Peers, desiring, 1. That a Personal Treaty be had in such place and manner as may consist with the King's Honour, Safety and Freedom, that the Treaty be not blemish'd with any appearance of a restraint. 2. That *Scotland* be included. 3. That in the mean time there be a cessation of Armes, and an orderly moderate subsistence agreed on for Forces on Foot on both sides by land and sea, to the Souldiers content and the Subjects ease.

Hereupon within a short time severall attempts were made for the King's service. *April* the 9. 1643. the *London* Apprentices made an insurrection, but were suppressed by *Fairfax* the next day. Soon after Colonel *Poyer*, and Major General *Langhorn*, and *Powel*, revolted, and reduced

duc'd *South-wales* to his Majesties service. Sir *John Owen* also got together a party: but they were all routed and enforced to surrender the places they had seisd, and themselves prisoners. In behalf of the two former, the Prince, under whose Commission they acted, desired Generall *Fairfax* that they might have the terms and usage of souldiers of war, as those had whom the fortune of war had made prisoners to his Highnesse. But the General answer'd, *It was not in his power to act further; the Parliament ordering their tryal, he dar'd not interpose against their justice.* So that they were afterwards tryed as Traytor's; but this favour was extended towards them that they should cast lots for their lives: it hapned to be *Poyer's* fate to suffer, and he was shot to death, which he took with much resolution.

The next party we meet with in
Armes

Armes for the King's deliverance out of a barbarous captivity, and admission to a personal Treaty, and the settlement of the Nation in peace, were the inhabitants of *Kent*, who having seen the Petitions presented to that purpose to the Parliament by the Counties of *Essex*, *Surrey*, and the City of *London* slighted, and some of the Petitioners murder'd, resolve not to petition but with their swords in their hands. So they assemble together in a considerable body upon *Black-heath* near *Greenwich*, about the latter end of *May* 1648. under Sir *Edward Hales*, commissioned from his Highnesse, Sir *George Lisle*, Sir *Gamaliel Dudley*, Sir *William Compton*, &c. I shall crave leave to be a little more particular in relating the whole management of this and some of the following enterprises, then I have adventured to be hitherto, because it was carried

on

on by authority deriv'd immediately from the Prince, and was of it self one of the most considerable. General *Fairfax* himself with six thousand Foot, and two thousand Horse, marches forth against the *Kentish* men, who were near ten thousand, but unadvisedly parted their Forces, and sent away a Brigade to besiege *Dover* Castle. The first intercourse between them was the offer of a Parley, to which the General sent this answer.

Sirs,

I Received a Message from you for a Pasſe for some Gentlemen to come and treat according to an Order of Parliament, but know no such Order of theirs, no Authority of yours to appoint Commissioners for such a purpose: And finding you and them in Armes against the Parliament, I cannot admit of a Treaty. But if ye shall forthwith
lay

lay down your Armes and return home, I doubt not of the Parliaments mercy to such as have been deluded into this Rebellion, and their exemplary justice upon the chief Actors therein.

Black heath, May 30. 1648

T. FAIRFAX.

To this harsh answer, by directions from the Prince they handsomely reply'd, "That they had taken
 "Armes in obedience, 1. To an universal and perpetual dictate of
 "nature, even self-preservation, not
 "to invade others right, but to secure their own. 2. To an undoubted power over us, ordained
 "of God, we do now obey (say they) and neither *tumult* nor *rebell*. 3. To Providence, which
 "hath given us that opportunity we
 "dare not neglect; and we cannot
 "lay them down without forfeiture

" of

“ of our Reason and our Honour.
“ As to the uncertain mercy you
“ hold forth for the deluded many,
“ who (you think , know not why
“ they are come together) and the
“ certain justice you threaten their
“ Leaders with; Assure your self
“ there is but one soul in this great
“ body , which is unanimously re-
“ solv’d to stand or fall as one man,
“ being not tempted with any hope,
“ save that of returning to our anci-
“ ent Rights, Priviledges , Govern-
“ ments and Settlements, and unca-
“ pable of any Fear , save only of re-
“ lapsing again to our former slave-
“ ry. The fair mannage of this busi-
“ nesse sufficiently manifests our in-
“ clination to peace. Be pleased ra-
“ ther to make this County your
“ Friend then your End, And we are

Your Servants

PHIL. MASILDS.

EDW. HALES.

The

The General being inflexible and they as resolute, they meet at a barricado'd bridge between *Crarford Heath*, and *Gravesend*, and dispute the passage very stoutly, which at length is gained by the Parliamentarians, and another at *Northfield*: whereupon the *Kentish* retire to *Maidstone*. *Fairfax* reenforcing his Army to the number of 10000. storms the Town on the 2. of *June*, but was twice repulsed with losse; The third assault got him entrance, when the fight grew more hot upon the Assailants then before, as well by the forces in the street, as by continuall shot from the houses. Nor was the victory accomplish't till after six hours fight, and much losse on both sides. Presently after this, the City of *Rocheſter* was also yielded to the General's mercy. The Lord *Goring* with the remainder of this Defeat, marches up in a body towards

London, and rendezvoused upon *Black-heath*, expecting some assistance from the City, which hope failing, he cross'd over *Greenwich* Ferry with five hundred men into *Essex*, where he was met by Sir *Charles Lucat*, and the Lord *Capel* with two thousand horse and foot, and they march together to the Town of *Colchester*. But soon after General *Fairfax* leaving Colonel *Rich* and *Hewson*, who had already rais'd the siege of *Dover*, to take in the other places of *Kent* which stood out, crosses over into *Essex* after the Enemy, and beleagures *Colchester* with a potent Army.

The Prince with his Fleet, consisting, as I said, of twenty good men of War, and two thousand souldiers (some of which were lately revolted with the Parliaments Vice-Admiral *Batten*, who was thereupon Knighted) put in at *Yarmouth* Road,
and

and would have landed there; but finding no great alacrity in most parts of the people to receive him, and hearing of Colonel *Scroop's* coming against him with a strong party of Horse and Foot, he sailed from thence to the *Downes* in *Kent*, seizing what Merchants ships and goods he could meet withall. Whilst he was here, he sent two Letters to the City of *London*, one to the Common-council, expressing "his Highness's
"good affection to peace and to the
"whole City, and his endeavours to
"vindicate his Father's Liberty and
"just Prerogative and Rights; To
"restore the people their Laws, Liberties and Properties; To free
"them from that bondage under
"which they were now held like a
"conquer'd Nation; To ease them
"of Excise and Taxes; To settle
"Religion according to his Father's
"Agreement made with the *Scots*,
and

but "and to reduce all things into their
part "ancient and proper Chanell. This
and Letter was accompanied with his
ing Declaration to the same purpose; the
of contents of which we mentioned a-
bove. The other was to the Mer-
chant Adventurers, *informing them*
ing that he had made stay of three of their
he ships, but without intent to make
was prize of any of them; desiring to
ity borrow 20000. l. of them to be re-
on. pay'd out of the Customs: and re-
ffe quires their speedy Answer; The Co-
he pies of these two Letters were
to brought to the House of Parliament
nd by the Sheriffs of London & some of
O the Common Council. Upon con-
i- sideration of them, Colonel Harvey
ce (first prolixly aggravating many faults
er in the King's Government, accord-
a ing to the scandalous Remonstrance
n not long before published against
e him) said, *The Prince was his Father's*
s own son, as like him as could be; That

C

he

he had invited the Scots to come in, and had declared for them, and had been formerly against the Parliament; That he was but a Subject; And moved the House to declare him a Rebel and a Traytor. Sir Peter VVentworth, Mr. Knightly, and Mr. Blakestone seconded him with much earnestnesse; and so did Edward Ash, who farther moved, That the Common Council and Merchants should give no Answer to his Letters, alledging, There was no danger the Prince should make prize of their ships, for that he had engaged to the States of the Low Countries to do no act prejudicial to Trade. At last the debate was put off till the next day, when the Speaker putting the House in mind of it again, it was earnestly called upon by the younger Sir John Evelyn, Scot, VVeaver, Holland, Boys, and almost all the godly gang. So the debate was resumed, and VVeaver went very high to try the

the Temper of the House. But the debate *interminis*, That the Prince should be declared a Rebel & a Traitor, was soon laid by (though violently press'd) chiefly for these reasons. 1. They had not the Originals of the Princes Letters and Declaration (which the Common Council still kept) but only Copies, not so much as attested upon Oath by any authentick Clerk; therefore no legal Proceedings could be upon them. 2. It would argue no peaceable inclination in them the same day when they sent Messengers to invite the King his Father to a Treaty of Peace. 3. It could not consist with the National Covenant. 4. It is High Treason by the Stat. 25. Edw. 3. to endeavour the destruction of the Prince, the King's eldest Son: but to declare him a Rebel and a Traytor was to endeavour to destroy him, and therefore High Treason, &c. But

what they could not do expressly, they did implicitly by Voting all that should adhere to, aid or assist the Prince, Rebels and Traytors. Hereby they put a tye upon the City, not to redeem their ships by lending 20000. *l.* to the Prince; and yet had a Pyrate taken them, it had been lawfull to redeem them. About this time also an Order passed the House of Commons for the Earl of *Warwick* to fight the Prince at sea. It was sent up to the Lords, and passed that House too; whereby it became an Ordinance: yet some of the Lords entred a Protestation against it, as the Earles of *Lincoln*, *Suffolk*, Lord *North*.

The Prince continued still in the *Downes* with his Fleet in a good condition, waiting for that supply of Land forces his Brother the Prince of *Orange* was very industriously raising for his service in *Holland*, and in
the

the *interim* was willing to do something for the relief of *Deal Castle*, which was besieged by a party of *Fairfax's* Army left in *Kent* for that purpose. In order to which he landed 500. men, who at first charged handsomely, but being overpower'd by number were beaten, several slain and taken, and the rest got aboard again. Failing of this attempt, he was inclinable to hazard himself for the relief of *Colchester*, which bravely held out against *Fairfax's* whole power; but from this he was dissuaded, as a business of too apparent danger. Wherefore he continued expecting the event of *Hamilton's* expedition in the North, who was sent into *England* by the Parliament of *Scotland* with an Army of 21000. upon the account of the Covenant; viz. for a restitution of his Majesty with safety and honour, and settlement of *Presbyterie*. On

the 15. day of *July*, the House of Commons (without the Lords) Vote the *Scots* that were come into *England* enemies, and that they might covertly include the Prince, the Question was put, That all such *Englifo* as had invited the *Scots* under Duke *Hamilton* to come in hostile manner into *England* should be declared Traitors? and carried in the affirmative.

He that shall consider the House of Commons was still in a mannet entire, and consisted of the very same men that so often and by so many Votes, Remonstrances, Declarations, Protestations, Vowes and Oaths pretended the defence of the King's person and just authority, settlement of these Nations in purity of Religion and preservation of the just Rights and Liberties of the Subject (the very same things now petition'd for by several Counties, & declared
for

for by the parties up in *Kent & Essex*, and Duke *Hamilton* in the North) cannot but wonder they should vote them Traitors and endeavour their destruction (with that of the Nations consequently) who took up armes in the greatest sincerity possible for those honourable purposes themselves alledged to countenance their own against the King. But the truth is the two Houses sat under a force ever since *August 6. 1647.* when *Fairfax* march't up with his Army in hostile manner against the City. For from that time the lesser party of the House (who together with some Officers of the Army had layd the blackest design that ever was hatcht by the instinct of the Devil) siding with the Army over-aw'd all the Proceedings of Parliament, and at the same time held the King and the major part of the House in suspence with unfaithfull Treaties, and sent

their forces against such as desir'd the same things they would be believ'd themselves intended. The House of Lords too, being strangely supine, in not resenting the frequent sleighting and contempt of their Authority, and not attempting any thing at all for the deliverance of their Sovereign, the Vindication of their own Honour, that of the Nation with it's rights, priviledges and freedoms, against the Usurpation of an Army and corrupt faction in that of the Commons. An insolence which I am perswaded, none of their great Ancestors we find in Histories under the same Titles, but would have ventur'd both lives and fortunes to the utmost, rather then have endured; and certainly their posterity will wonder what they were doing all this while. The Earle of *Holland* indeed, though no Souldier, yet dar'd well, and out of a sense of Honour thought

thought himself oblig'd to try his fortune in the Field, if possible he might be an Instrument to avert the Destruction he saw threatned his Sovereign, and the miseries of tyrannie impendent over this poor Nation by an armed power. By commission from the Prince he assembles together about 500. Horse and Foot about *Kingston* heath, *July 2.* having with him the Duke of *Buckingham*, and his Brother, the L. *Francis Villers*, and the Earle of *Peterborough*. But he was soon routed by a stronger Party; himself taken, and afterwards put to death for his noble but unfortunate Attempt. Such were the finnes of this Nation, and thus the good Providence of God was pleased to bring about the punishment of them, by frustrating all meanes and courses taken to deliver it from the miseries of that threatned it. For soon after, viz. *August 17.*

the great Army under *Hamilton* is defeated by *Cromwell* and *Lambers* at *Preston* in *Lancashire*, and the Duke himself taken, and afterwards beheaded by the *English* Parliament for this action. This Defeat was followed by the surrender of *Colchester* which had induc'd a sharp starving Siege of three moneths upon hopes of relief from this *Scottish* Army. Thus all the Princes Enterprises failing, and his Fleet being in great need of provision, he is forced to give over further Action, and retires to the *Hague* in *Holland* to his Sister the Princessse of *Orange* in expectation and attendance upon Providence. Shortly after, many Counties of *England* soliciting the Parliament for a Treaty with the King, the honestest and greater part take heart again, recall the Votes of Non-Addresses, Vote a Treaty, send Commissioners with Propositions to the King: All
which

which his Majesty fully consented to, and there was no difference between him and the Houses but concerning Presbytery, which he granted should be established for three years. All men now hoped for a happy settlement. But, alas! now begin the greatest of our woes. The Army who could not think their greatness and power would be durable if the King liv'd, draw nearer to *London*, petition for their Arrears, and for Justice upon the King as the Capitall cause of the Evils of the Civil War; to which effect also they publish a Remonstrance, requiring withall that a peremptory Day be set for summoning the Prince of *Wales*, and Duke of *York*; and if they refuse, to declare them incapable of Government or succession, and to stand exiled as Traytors; and if they render themselves, yet they to be proceeded against for satisfaction with
either

other demands of the like strain. To bring their accursed design to passe, *Fairfax* commands Colonel *Hammond* to deliver up his charge to Colonel *Ewer*, by whom the King is conveyed out of the Isle of *Wight* to *Hurst* Castle, *Novemb.* 30. contrary to the intentions and consent of the Parliament as they declar'd. And thus the Treaty was violently broken off. Yet the Lords Vote the King's concessions a sufficient ground for Peace, and so do the major part of the Commons. But the Army march up to *London*, discharge the Trained Bands from guarding the Parliament, and order *Pride's* and *Rich's* Regiments to supply their places, by whom above fourty Members are seiz'd on and confin'd, Major General *Brown*, ninety odde Members, excluded the House. Then the Army form a new Model of Government which they stile *The Agree.*

Agreement of the people, destructive to all the Fundamental Laws of the Land, which was presented to the new molded House by Sir *Hardres VValler* and 16. Officers. The House hereupon annull the Votes against Non-addresses, and exclude all Members that will not joyn with them in this proceeding. They then proceed to order the Tryall of the King, and remove him, though the Lords refus'd to concurre, and declare no act of the Commons binding without their consent. However force overcomes all Right & Reason. A pretended High Court of Iustice is erected, of which *Iohn Bradshaw* (newly created Serjeant at Law) is made President. The King is brought before them upon Saturday the 20 of *January* 1648. on Monday the 22. on Tuesday the 23. and on Saturday the 27. of the same moneth; where persisting with magnanimity and reason

son to deny the power of the Court, and being most impudently and insolently treated by *Bradshaw*, he is condemned to be beheaded for Tyranny, Treason, and Murder. According to which sentence (having taken leave of his Children here in *England*, and sent his blessing to his son in *Holland*, he was put to death before *White-hal* Gate upon Tuesday the 30. of *January*. The *Dutch* and *French* Embassadours in behalf of his Majesty made intercession for his life; The *Scottish* Parliament publish'd a Remonstrance against the Parliaments Proceedings; The Ministry of *London* declar'd their disallowance before God and Men; The House of *Peers* offer'd themselves as pledges for his Sacred Majesty; but all prevailed nothing. The barbarous *Juncto* are inexorable, being made so desperate by their own guilt that they thought nothing could se-

cure

cure their former crimes but this impious, detestable and unparallel'd murder of their Sovereign.

During his Majesties tryall, which was carried on with all expedition and speed, the Prince who could not be satisfi'd of that strange turn from a Treaty to a Tryall, writ the following Letter to his Father by the Lord Seymour.

S I R,

HAVING no means to come to the knowledge of your Majestie's affairs, but such as I receive from the Prints, or (which is as uncertain) reports; I have sent this bearer Seymour to wait upon your Majesty, and to bring me an account of it; and that I may withall assure your Majesty I do not only pray for your Majesty according to my duty, but shall alwaies be ready to do all which shall be in my power

*power to deserve the blessing which I
now humbly beg of your Majesty upon,*

Sir,

Your Majestie's most hum-
ble and most obedient
Son and Servant

Hague, Jan.
23. 1648.

CHARLES.

But, alas! Sad were the tydings
the Lord *Seymour* return'd with into
Holland, the most inhumane, illegall
and barbarous murder of the King
of Great *Britain* by the hands of his
English Subjects: An Act which
struck all *Europe* with horror and a-
mazement, and which certainly our
Posterity will eternally detest. To
represent the sorrow and affliction of
our Illustrious Prince, with his
Royal Brother the Duke of *York*, and
his Sister of *Orange*, without doubt
sur-

I
surpasses all the power of words. No Prince ever lost a Father whom he was to succeed in Royalty with greater regret; and indeed all circumstances consider'd, I conceive no mortal man had ever greater occasion of grief. Certainly had not the extraordinary grace of God supported him he could never have borne up against it. I know not how better to resent his passionate resentment, then by imitating the old *Grecian* Painter, who being to pourtray *Agamemnon* present at the sacrifice of his Daughter, represented all his followers weeping and lamenting, but drew a veil over the Father's face; as hiding the transcendent passion his Pencil was unable to expresse.

A few dayes before the King's death, the Commons voted the style in Writs and all Judicial proceedings to be altered from *Carolus Dei gratia*,

gratia, &c. the Great Seal with the Royal Scutcheon of *England* to be broken, and a new one made with the Armes of *England*, & the Harp of *Ireland* with these words, *The Great Seal of England*, engraven on one side, and on the Reverse the picture of the House of Commons sitting, with these words, *In the first year of Freedom by God's blessing restored 1648.* On the evening of that black day on which his Majesty suffered, a Proclamation was set forth by the *Interdict* prohibiting all persons upon pain of High Treason to presume to declare or publickly to promote *Charles Stuart* styled Prince of *Wales*, eldest son of the late King, or any of the rest of his Children, to be King of *England*. In pursuance of which determination having taken their King out of the way, they proceed against Kingship, and constitute a select Number of themselves
joyn'd

joyn'd with the General and chief Officers of the Army in the Supreme authority. The House of Peers is voted dangerous and unnecessary, and an Act pass'd and proclaim'd in the City of *London* for the abolishing of Kingly Government and settling these Nations in way of a *Free State*. It was also published, 1. That it should be Treason to speak against this Form of Government. 2. That it should be Treason for any to endeavour the exercise of Kingship in these Nations in his own Person, or promote it in another; especially *Charles* the eldest, *James* the second, and *Henry* the third, Sons of the late King. After which they proceed as far as they could to abolish the very memory of his late Majesty; his Arms are ordered to be defaced in all places throughout the Nations, and his Statues broken, all the *regalia* sold and imbezil'd, the Crown Revenue

set

set to sale, and all the goods of the Royal Family made prize on by those that had murdered and expell'd the Owners.

Neverthelesse, there wanted not some in this sad consternation, who shew'd themselves so resolute in asserting the Title of Prince *Charles* to the Crown of these Nations, as to print and disperse this following Proclamation in several places of the City of *London*.

WE, the Noblemen, Judges, Knights, Lawyers, Gentlemen, Freeholders, Merchants, Citizens, Yeomen, Sea-men, and other Free men of England, do according to our Allegiance and Covenant by these presents, Heartily, Ioyfully and Vnanimously acknowledge and Proclaim the illustrious CHARLES, Prince of Wales, next Heir to his Father King Charles (whose late wicked murder, and all Consenters thereunto, We from our hearts

hearts abominate to be by Hereditary Birth-right and lawfull Succession rightfull and undoubted King of Great Britain, France and Ireland: And we will constantly and sincerely in our severall places and callings defend and maintain his Royal Person, Crown and Dignity with our estates and lives against all Opposers, whom hereby we declare to be Exemies to his Majesty and Kingdomes. In Testimony whereof we have caused these to be Publish'd throughout all Counties and Corporations of this Realm; The first day of February in the first Year of his Majesty's Reign.

But the Royal Party was so totally suppress'd throughout this Nation, that they wanted power to make good what their consciences assur'd them was just and right. This endeavour testifi'd their Loyalty, and with all their weaknesse. For though the hearts of most of the Nation were as wil-

willing to promote the Son's succession as to withstand the Father's destruction; yet were they as unable to advance the one as they had been to prevent the other. Indeed *Ireland* was in a manner wholly for his Majesty, in many places whereof he was by joynt consent both of Protestants and Papists proclaimed King. The Lord Marquesse of *Ormond*, the Lord *Inchequin*, and other great persons had considerable Forces in the field for his interest, and all the Garrisons of that Island held out for him, excepting the two most important, the Cities of *Dublin* and *London-Derry*, which were kept from returning to their Allegiance, the former by Lieutenant General *Jones* then Governor, and the latter by Sir *Charles Coote*, who maintain'd their cause and authority who had barbarously murder'd his Royal Father in *England*. Besides the Islands of *Iersey*, *Guernsey*,

sey, Scilly and Man remain'd faithful to him, though they were of no other advantage then to serve as places of retreat for the small Fleet that was left, after the greatest part of it had again revolted to the Parliaments Navy. The Parliament of Scotland, as I said, had protested against the proceedings of the *English* against their common King: But at this time that Nation was divided into four grand Factions or Parties.

1. The first consisted of such as had confederated with the *English* Parliament during the Warres, till they saw their accursed design of destroying the King, and subverting the Government; these were the prevailing party who sent Duke *Hamilton* with that numerous but unfortunate Army into *England* 1643. They were willing though upon certain conditions to own and declare Prince *Charles* for their King; only
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in this they sided with the *English* Independent *Juncto*, That they endeavoured to the utmost to depreſſe and diſcountenance the Malignants (as they called thoſe who had adher'd to his late Maſteſty) who make up the ſecond party. The third conſiſted of ſuch as were ſo ſtrictly devoted to the *Kirk* and Covenant, that they only projected the advancement of them, and car'd not for any other intereſt either of *King* or *Free-State*, but ſtrenuouſly oppos'd both; of which Faction Colonel *Straughern* and Colonel *Kerre* were two great Sticklers. The fourth, and laſt, and worſt were ſuch as by unparallel'd treachery to their Prince, their Native Countrey, and (as it appear'd afterwards) to themſelves too, held ſecret correſpondence with the *Seſtarian* power and Army of *England*. This Diviſion I have made will give much light to the underſtanding of
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the reasons of the Scottish actions and their consequences, when we come to relate them. At present, it may suffice to intimate that this Discord among themselves retarded them from publickly proclaiming and owning their lawfull King.

In the mean time the King having been a while a close Mourner in *Holland*, and receiv'd the condolences of the Lords States, (who also deputed an Oratour Dr. *Lotius* to represent their sad sence of the inhumane murder of his Royall Father, which he performed in an elegant Latine Oration extant in Print) he committed the management of his affairs there to the care of his Brother and Sister of *Orange*; and took a journey to *France*, both to visit his disconsolate and forlorne Mother and to desire the assistance, which he might reasonably conceive, that King oblig'd both in honour, consideration of

consanguinity and the generall concernment of all Monarchs, to afford him. He was receiv'd in the French Court with much respect, and after a short stay at *Paris* took up his abode at *St. Germain's*, having his Royall Brother the Duke of *York* with him.

He had not been long here, but contrary to the expectations as well as hopes of himself and all his Loyall Subjects, news is brought him of the defeat of the Army in *Ireland* under the *Marquis of Ormond*, then which a gallanter & richer had scarce been seen during all the late Warrs. The Marquis had laid siege to *Dublin* on the 21. of *June* 1649. but that City being reinforc'd with a supply of 3000. Horse and Foot from *England*, and encouraged with the expectation of more, the Besieged made severall Sallies out upon them from time to time, and at length in one surpris'd
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the *Marquis's* maine Army, and totally defeated it, himself not without much difficulty escaping by flight. 'Tis very true, the *Marquis* had an Army of about 20000. men, but the greatest part of them were *Irish*, and so such as he dar'd not trust; besides, I have heard it credibly reported, He might have taken *Dublin* if he had pleas'd, but forbore to doe it meerly in tenderneſſe to the numerous Protestants were in it, whom the *Irish* would have without question unmercifully destroy'd if they had taken the place by assault; and as yet there was no other way to take it, by reason the besieged had high expectation of succour from *England*. This was the first blow receiv'd by the young King, and a great one it was indeed, and so important that it made way for the losse of all that Kingdom. About the same time also Sir *Ch. Coote* issued out of *London-Derry*,

and beat off Sir *Rob. Stuart* and Col. *Mervin* that besieg'd it. And immediately upon this successe *Ol. Cromwell* landed in *Ireland* with the Title of Lord Lieutenant, and was follow'd by his Son-in-Law *Ireton* with about 40 ships. The Royall Field-Army being lost, *Cromwell* falls upon the Garrisons; the first place he attacked was *Droghedah* (or *Tredagh*) which he soon took by storme, and with a cruelty unknown since the first rise of Christianity, put the Governour Sir *Arthur Aston* (a noble Gentleman that had serv'd the late King in *England*) and all Inhabitants of the Town of all ages and sexes to the Sword. Thus was Providence pleas'd to suffer wickednesse to prosper. This successe was follow'd with the losse of many considerable Townes and Castles in all parts of *Ireland*, besides severall Field-battels obtain'd over the Lords *Inchequin*,

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Ardes and *Clanduboy*, and Lieut. Gen. *Farrell* by the L. *Broghill*, Sir *Ch. Coot*, Col. *Venables*, *Zanchy*, *Renolds* and *Hewson*. So that in lesse then the space of this year that Kingdome was wholly lost, which in the beginning of it, his Majestie lookt upon as so considerably his own that he was almost perswaded to have gone thither in person; but waved upon mature advice, and went to the Isle of *Iersey*, where he was proclaimed by the Islanders immediately, and the L. *Iermin* Earle of *Yarmouth* was made Governour and Sir *Geo. Carteret* his Deputy. His retinue at his arrivall in this place amounted to about 300. persons. A little before his departue from *St. Germain*, the Duke of *York* came to him out of *Holland*, & was visited by the French King and the Cardinal, of whom he humbly implored ayd in behalf of his Brother. *Mazarini* answer'd ci-

villy, that he might assure himself of all favour and assistance from the King of *France* as soon as he had the power and opportunity to serve him: In the mean time the Duke is presented with 100000. Crownes. From *Jersey* his Majesty sends his Summons to *Guernsey* (which was wholly the Parliament's, saving *Cornet Castle*) to submit to his obedience. But it was to no effect. It is reported by some his Majesty had some expectation from the Levelers, who at that time had revolted from the rest of the Parliament's Army: but whatever their designe was, they were suppress'd both in the West and at *Burford* in *Oxfordshire*.

The English Plantations in the *West-Indies* at this time under the Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham* refus'd Obedience and Subjection to the Parliament, who thereupon first interdicted them all Traffick & Commerce,

merce , and shortly after reduc'd them with a Fleet sent from *England* under the Command of Sir Geo. *Ayscough*.

The King at *Jersey* receiving intelligence of these unfortunate successes following one upon the neck of another, his chief hopes and expectations lay now in *Scotland*. He understood the severall Factions there, and that the *Covenanters* who were most considerable both for Power and Number , sought their own advantage by him , and would cause much difficulty in his affairs there; wherefore to balance them a little by the honest Royalists who were his and had been his Father's friends, and whom the former endeavour'd to keep under , as also to bring them to more equitable Termes , he gives Commission to the noble and valiant Lord Marquis of *Montrose* to raise forces for him in *Holland* and other

other parts. The *Marquis* in a short time sends some few forces into the Isle of *Orkney*, and some few others landed in the North of *Scotland* under Sir *Ia. Montgomery*. These the Committee of Estates resolve to oppose, though rais'd for the King's service; and notwithstanding after long debate and contest between the opposite factions, the best of which were infinitely scrupulous, at length resolve upon a Letter of Propositions to his Majesty, and send it by Mr. *Geo. Windram Laird* of *Libberton* upon the 25. of *Sept.* 1649. Upon the 30. of that moneth he arriv'd at *Iersey* and presented his Majesty with these Propositions from the States of *Scotland*.

1. That his Majesty would sign the solemn League and Covenant, and pass an Act for all persons to take it throughout that Kingdome, and ratifie all that had been done concerning the same.
2. That

2. That he would ratifie divers Acts of Parliament of Scotland made by the two last Sessions; viz. 1. For disclaiming D. Hamilton's last expedition. 2. For receiving of the severall Acts made by the English for the Militia. 3. For the Kings of Scotland to have no Negative voice in their Parliament.

3. That his Maj^{tie} would recall the late Commissions given to Monroffe, &c.

4. That he would dismisse all Papists from about him, and let none be of his Council but Protestants.

5. That he would appoint some place about Holland for a Treaty with their Commissioners; whither they intended to send severall Persons of Honour for that purpose and take care for his Entertainment during that time suitable to his Dignity.

6. That he would give a speedy answer to their Desires.

After some time of debate upon these proposalls, which were variously entertain'd; some upon diffidence of the *Scots* fidelity dissuading his Majesty from complying with them (as the Lords *Byron*, *Cleveland*, *Gerard*, &c.) others on the contrary (as the Lords *Piercy*, *Wentworth*, *Wilmot*, and Sir *Geo. Carteret*) counselling him not to put that to the hazard of war which might be obtain'd by Treaty, (especially his strength being at that time so low, if he should resolve onely upon force,) Letters came to his Majesty from the Queen, urging that if the *Scots* Propositions seem'd at present too severe and unsupportable he might have opportunity hereafter when possess'd of that Kingdome to free himself in some measure from the Inconvenience of them: Therefore she judg'd it best to close with them. *Montrosse* also then in *Holland* writ

to the King to the same purpose, desiring his Majesty to hearken to the Scots Commissioners, so as to admit of an Agreement with them which might settle his Majesty in that Kingdom with safety and Honour; adding, That, as for himself, he should be contented to be banished perpetually from his Native Country rather then be the least cause of prejudice to his Majestie's affaires. Thus this incomparable pattern of Loyaltie preferred the Interest of his Prince above all respects of his own. But his Majestie was too generous to admit of his offer, and therefore answered him, That he had such assurance of his fidelity & so high a sense of his services perform'd to his late Father and himself that he could not in Justice or in Honour desert him, and therefore desired him to urge him no further to it. At length the advice to close with the Scots seem'd most safe and reasonablen, and proceeding
from

from the greater number of suffrages, it was resolv'd to follow it. The next thing therefore to be deliberated of, was what answer should be return'd to the Propositions; which requiring some time, Sir *VVill. Flemming* was dispatcht before hand to *Edenb.* as Agent, till it could be compleated & sent by the Laird *Libberton*.

The New Commonwealth in *England* in the mean time was modell'd thus. The House of Peers as I said was voted down, the Commons reduc'd to about 100; and a new kind of Senate set up, called a Council of State, who sate at *Whitehall*, consisting of forty persons; these indeed, though deriv'd from the Parliament, grew to have greater authority then their creators; but though the supreme Power seem'd in appearance to be in these two Councils yet it was really in the hands of the Army, the chief Officers of which
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rul'd them that rul'd the Nations. Their principall business at Home was to fortify their new Government by making severall Acts of Treason, and to terrifie others by putting to death divers of the Nobility as *D. Hamilton*, *E. of Holland*, *L. Capel*, &c. and such of the Gentry who had oppos'd their Barbarous and Tyrannicall Proceedings. They also employ'd themselves in dividing the Patrimony of the Crown, having murder'd the Father and expell'd the Son; the same course also they took with many thousands of loyall persons, either confiscating and selling their Estates, or putting them to redeem the same upon great compositions; by this meanes and prodigious Taxes together, drawing all the Wealth of the Nation, both Money & Lands, into their own hands, and sharing the same among themselves & their Lords the Officers of the Army.

His

His Majesty had small hopes of doing any good immediately upon *England*, although he had friends enough in it. However, two noble Gentlemen Sir *John Berkly* and Col. *Slingsby* offer'd themselves to serve their Prince in *England*, and accordingly came from *Iersey* into the *Vvest*, and went about stirring up their Correspondents to Armes for their King & Country; but they were both accidentally discover'd & taken.

The King had sent Ambassadors to severall great Princes and States, as the Emperor, the King of *Spain*, the Duke of *Moscovy*, the State of *Venice*, the Grand Seignor, and others, to sollicite their ayd and contribution for the recovery of his Father's Kingdomes. But from the most of them he received only complements & pretences of their good will to help him. The most considerable Embassie, and most probable

ble to take effect was that to his Majesty of *Spain* by the Lord *Cottington*, who at his Audience remonstrated in the name of his Master, *That the Parliament of England having been in Armes against his Father had prevailed against him, and caused him to be put to death; That he being Son and heir to the late King, was yet kept out of his Kingdomes by the said Parliament; And therefore he desired his Aid and Assistance to establish him into his Rights and Dignities in his Kingdomes.* To this the King of *Spain* answer'd, "That he was sorry for
"his Father's ill successe, wishing he
"had been more prosperous; That
"he condol'd wth him for his Fa-
"ther's death, and was much affe-
"cted with sorrow at the manner of
"it; That concerning the difference
"between him and the Parliament;
"and the Rights on the one or the
"other side, they being matters out
of

“of his Territories and Jurisdiction.
“he could not take cognizance of
“them, nor should he meddle there-
“in: But for any thing within his
“own Dominions, he should be rea-
“dy to do him what lawful favour he
“could. But such is the influence
Self-Interest has upon the minds
even of the greatest Potentates, that
it many times excludes all conside-
rations of generosity. Had the
Neighbour-States resented the unju-
stice done to this King and his Fa-
ther, as they ought, I am confident
the Spirits of the *Juncto* would have
soon been broken. But the course of
the world, as I said, is otherwise, his
Majesty of *Britain* is an Exile, his E-
nemies are great and powerfull, and
therefore in stead of sending assist-
ance to the unfortunate Prince, the
King of *Spain* sends an Embassadour
to court the new Commonwealth
of Rebels to a League.

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The King hearing of a Fleet of Ships preparing by the Parliament for the Island of *Jersey*, thought fit to dispatch his answer to the Committee of Estates of *Scotland* in order to a Treaty, which being drawn up with a Letter directed to the Committee of the *Kirk*. Assembly, the Laird *Libberton* departed with it to *Scotland*. Soon after which, his Majesty to avoid all danger, went from *Jersey* back again into *France*, where he resided with his Royal Mother till the time for the *Scotch* Treaty drew near. Before his going thither, he writ thus to the Lord Marq. of *Montros*.

Most Dear and well beloved Cousin,

“ We have received Letters from
“ our Kingdome of *Scotland*, of
“ which you receive herewith a Co-
“ py; by which our subjects demand
“ of us, that we would please to ac-
“ knowledge for lawfull their *Parli-*
“ *ament*, and particularly the two last
“ *Se*ss.

“Sessions of that Assembly. Which
“being obtained of our Grace, they
“offer to send us their Deputies with
“full Commission to Treat with us
“of the means to reestablish Peace
“and obedience in that Kingdom.
“We have made them an Answer,
“That we have made known to
“their Envoy the place where we
“desired their Deputies should
“come to us with all diligence. And
“to the end you should not apprehend
“that by our Letters or by the
“Treaty, we had any design to hinder
“the affairs we have committed
“to you, we have thought fit to let
“you know that as we judge the Levies
“you have made for our service
“to have been a powerfull motive
“to oblige them to send their Deputies
“and to enter into Treaty with
“us: So we also believe, that the
“Progress you shall make in your
“generous Designs will dispose
them

“them to Treat with the more mo-
“deration, to the end the whole
“Realm may again happily return
“under our obedience. We assure
“you we have not the least thought
“to derogate from that ample Com-
“mission which we have given you,
“nor to diminish that Authority in
“which we have invested you by
“our Letters Patents. And we doe
“promise you also, if it shall come
“to passe that we shall enter into any
“good Intelligence with our sub-
“jects, we shall have so much care
“of your proper Interest, that all the
“world shall see how much we
“esteem your Person & what confi-
“dence we have in your conduct &
“your Courage, whereof not only
“the late King our Father, but Our
“self also have reciv’d Proofs both
“by what you have done & suffer’d
“for Us. In the meantime, you
“shall understand that we have qua-
“lifi’d

“ lified the Assembly of our Subjects
“ with the Appellation of *the Com-*
“ *mittee of Estates* ; which we have
“ done onely for this Treary: Which
“ if it shall not succeed as we desire,
“ As we know already this Qualifica-
“ tion of the Privy Signet do's not at
“ all authorise them to be such, so we
“ shall then forthwith declare for
“ what we hold them, notwithstanding
“ this Title which we have given
“ them , both for their own proper
“ satisfaction & also to make known
“ to all the World, that we desire to
“ bring back our Subjects of the
“ Kingdome of *Scotland* to their Du-
“ ty , rather by wayes of sweetness
“ and amitie then by the rigour of
“ our Armes, if their Obstinacy and
“ the Injustice of their Demands
“ should constrain us to recover it
“ by force. We therefore do hereby
“ give you full Power to proceed vi-
“ gorously in your Enterprises , not
doub.

“doubting but all our Loyall Sub-
 “jects of *Scotland* will join them-
 “selves with you; and by that means
 “all those who are otherwise dis-
 “pos’d will submit themselves to
 “reason in that Treaty which we
 “we now accept; or shall be forc’d
 “thereto by Armes.

“To this, we permit you to pu-
 “blish these Presents, & to commu-
 “nicate them to such as you shall
 “judge fit. So we pray God to pre-
 “serve you, most dear Cousin.

The Laird of *Liberton* being ar-
 riv’d at *Edenburgh*, where he was ex-
 pected with much impatience and
 longing, as soon as the Committee
 of Estates and Assembly of the *Kirk*
 were met, deliver’d his Majesties
 Message and Letters to them, in-
 forming them also by word of
 Mouth how greatly inclinable he
 found him to an Agreement to their
 De-

Desires; As, 1. That in reference to Ratifying all that the Parliament of *Scotland* did in their two last Sessions he was willing there should be pass'd a generall Act of Oblivion 2. That such as had serv'd under the Mar-queſſe of *Montroſs*, and Duke *Hamilton* in his last Expedition should be incapable of all publick Charge without consent of Parliament. 3. That he had design'd *Breda* in *Holland* for the place of a Solemn Treaty upon the 15. of *March* next ensuing, in order to a perfect Accommodation between himself and his Subjects of *Scotland*.

His Majestie's Letter to the Committee of Estates was in these termes.
For the Committee of Estates of Scotland.

CHARLES R.

“WE have received your Letters lately presented to us by
“Mr.

" Mr. *Vindram* Laird of *Liberton*, &
 " we accept graciously all the expres-
 " sions of Affection & Fidelity there-
 " in contained towards us, with your
 " tender resentment of our present
 " condition, and the just indignation
 " which you professe to have against
 " the execrable murtherers of our
 " Father. And we believe that your
 " intentions are full of Candor to-
 " wards us, as we are & alwaies have
 " been desirous to settle a clear and
 " right Intelligence between us and
 " our Subjects of our ancient King-
 " dome of *Scotland*, which may be
 " an assured foundation of their hap-
 " piness and peace for the time to
 " come, and an effectuall means to
 " root out all the seeds of animosity
 " and divisions caused by these late
 " Troubles; and also to unite the
 " hearts and affections of our Sub-
 " jects to one another, and of them
 " all to us their King and lawfull So-
 veraigne;

“ veraigne; To the end that by their
“ obedience to our Royall and just
“ authority, we may be put into a
“ condition to maintain them in
“ Peace and Prosperity, and to pro-
“ tect them in their Religion and Li-
“ berty, as it appertains to us accord-
“ ing to our Charge and Office of a
“ King. And as we have alwaies re-
“ solved to contribute whatever is
“ to be done by us to obtain these
“ good Effect^s, and for the just satis-
“ faction of all our Subjects in this
“ Kingdom; We have now thought
“ fit upon the returne of Mr. *Win-*
“ *dram* to command and desire you
“ to send unto us Commissioners
“ sufficiently Authorised, To treat
“ and agree with us, both in Relati-
“ on to the Interest and just satisfacti-
“ on of our Subjects there, as also
“ concerning the Ayd & Assistance
“ which in all reason we may expect
“ from them to bring and reduce the
Mur-

“ Murtherers of our late Most dear
 “ Father of happy memory to con-
 “ digne punishment, and to recover
 “ our just Rights in all our King-
 “ domes. And we will that they at-
 “ tend us on the fifteenth day of the
 “ month of *March* at the Town of
 “ *Breda*, where we intend to be in
 “ order thereunto. And in confi-
 “ dence of a Treaty, as also to make
 “ known to you and all the World
 “ that we sincerely desire to be a-
 “ greed, We have resolv’d to address
 “ these unto you under the Name &
 “ Title of a *Committee of Estates* of
 “ our Kingdome of *Scotland*; And
 “ will and expect that you use this
 “ grace no otherwise for any advan-
 “ tage to the prejudice of us, or our
 “ Affairs, beyond what we have gi-
 “ ven this Qualification and Title
 “ for, namely, *Onely for the Treaty*
 “ *and in order to it*; Although we
 “ have considerations sufficient and

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“very important to dissuade and
“oblige us to doe nothing in this
“kind antecedently at this time. Al-
“so we hope the confidence which
“we declare to have in your cleare
“and candid intentions towards us,
“will furnish you with strong Argu-
“ments to forme in your selves a
“mutuall confidence in us, which by
“the blessing of God Almighty, by
“your just and prudent moderation,
“and by that great desire that we
“have to oblige all our Subjects of
“that Kingdome, and by the means
“of the Treaty which we attend and
“hope for, may be a good foundati-
“on of a full and happy peace, and
“an assured security to this Nation
“for the time to come : Which we
“assure you is wished of us with
“Passion, and we shall endeavour by
“all means in our power to effect.

To the Committee of the *Kirk*
like-

of Charles the II.

likewise his Majesty writ a Letter much to the same purpose, which as soon as they met was delivered to them. Those to the *Committee of Estates* were first referred to a Subcommittee of nine Lords and Burgesses, to present their Opinions thereupon to the *Committee of Estates*, who were to receive their Reports and prepare the matter for the Parliament of *Scotland* shortly to be conven'd. And moreover for the more expedition a Joint Committee was chosen out of that of the *Estates* and that of the Kirk by common consent to consider of sending Commissioners and Propositions to the King. Much was the debate and great the contestation in this Council; the insolent *Kirkmen* rejecting all other accommodation, but such as might render his Majestie in a condition wholly subservient to their pleasure, framed higher Propositions then

ever. Those of the *Eſtates* were more moderate, in compariſon, though high enough too; and at length became more prevalent. So Commiſſioners were jointly choſen to be ſent to his Maſteſties. The Earle of *Caffils*, the Lord *Lothian*, the Laird *Burley* and the Laird *Libberton*, Sir *Io. Smith* and Mr. *Ieoffries* for the *Eſtates*; and Mr. *Broady*, *Lawſon*, and *Wood* in behalf of the Kirk. Theſe arrive at *Breda*, before the King, and therefore the next day they went to meet him at *Berghen-op Zoom*, and came together to *Breda* 16. *March* 1649. Three dayes after they were conducted to audience by the Lord *Wentworth* Maſter of the Ceremonies in the Kings Coach. The Earle of *Caffills* made a ſhort ſpeech as from the *Eſtates*, and *Lawſon* for the *Kirk*; after which they ſhew'd their Commiſſions and deliver'd the Propoſitions and Letters from the
Eſtates

Estates and Kirk of Scotland. The Propositions were these.

I. *That all Excommunicate should be forbid the Court.*

II. *That the King would by Solemn Oath and under his Hand and Seal declare his Allowance of the National Covenant of Scotland, & of the Solemn League & Covenant of the three Nations.*

III. *That he would confirme all Acts of Parliament, enjoin the Solemn League and Covenant, establish Presbytery, the Directory, the Confession of Faith and Catechisme in the Kingdome of Scotland, as they are already approved by the General Assembly of the Kirk and the Parliament; and that he would observe the same in his own family, and swear never to oppose or indeavour the alteration of the same.*

IV. *That he would consent that all Civil matters might be determin'd by*

the present and subsequent Parliaments in Scotland , and all matters Ecclesiasticall by the ensuing generall Kirk Assembly.

After the reading of these Propositions and the Letters his Majestie being told these were all their instructions , answered ; That he would take these things into consideration, and doubted not to give them such a full answer, as should give them & his Kingdome of *Scotland* ample satisfaction.

His Majestie and his Council deliberate very seriously upon these Heads of the Treaty. Opinions were divided , some persons vehemently dissuading him from trusting himself into the hands of the *Scots*. But the *Covenant* was the main thing the King stuck at , and the Commissioners most urg'd. In the mean time he withdraws to the *Hague* to consult with the *Queen of Bohemia* and the

the Prince of *Orange* (who was visited by the Commissioners and intreated to be a Mediator between them and his Majestie) and some other friends what course was best to resolve on. And soon after the Earle of *Carnwarth* and Mr. *Murrey* arrive at *Breda* from the Committee of *E-states* with further Instructions and Propositions; as 1. *That his Majesty should ratifie all that had been done in the Parliaments of Scotland in some late Sessions*; And content, *That Montrosse and his Adherents be prohibited accesse into that Kingdome.*

These conditions were sufficiently hard, but the posture his Majestie's affairs then stood in seem'd to most of his Counsellours to afford an invincible argument to perswade him to accept them. The Marquis of *Montrosse*, as I said, was commission'd by the King to levy what force he could on that side the Sea and to

fall into the North of *Scotland*, upon hopes his appearance there might induce the States to more moderation. In order to which he had solicited the Princes of *Germany* for assistance, but he received little more from any but promises and complements. Onely from the Duke of *Holstein* he was supplied with three or four very fair Vessels well arm'd and man'd. And to expedite his businesse he dispatcht Col. *John Ogilby* to *Amsterdam* to intertain such strangers as might be for his purpose. But he forgetting his Commission, bestow'd both money & paines in intertaining himself, suffering those who upon any termes would have engag'd to shift for themselves; there being a great number who had fled out of *England*, and more who had lately deserted the *French*, or been cashiered the *Hollander's* service. By which neglect those goodly
ships

ships provided for service were lost, and a limb of the design broken. Nor was this the onely miscarriage that hapned in the beginning of the *Marquis's* enterprize. For Col. *Cochran* likewise who had been sent into *Poland* to deal with the *Scotch* Merchants there for assistance, having procured very considerable Summes of money upon that score and other provision, dispos'd of the money to his own use, made sale of the Corn and provision together with the Vessell appointed for the transportation of it, and himself turn'd tail to the quarrell. And General *King* (whom the *Marquis* expected out of *Sweden* with a considerable party of Horse) either could not be ready so soon as was expected, or else delay'd on purpose. However, the Marquesse fearing (as is suppos'd) he should have an expresse command to desist from his pur-

E 5 pose;

pose, because the Treaty betwixt his Majesty and the *Scots* Commissioners was likely to come to a speedy conclusion, whereby himself should be banisht out of that Kingdome, fatally resolves to proceed, notwithstanding all difficulties. So he set forth for the conquest of a Nation settled in a posture of war, and forewarn'd of his intentions, with about six or seven hundred men at most, strangers and all, about the tenth of *April* 1650. He had sent him by the Queen of *Sweden* for the arming such as upon his arrivall should betake themselves to his party, fifteen hundred Armes compleat for Horse, back, brest, &c. Carbines, Pistols and Swords; all which after his defeat in *Cathanes* were taken untoucht. Two of his ships with near upon a third part were sent before and directed to steer for the *Orcades*; but by storm of weather, which is both

both frequent and dangerous amongst those *Northern* Islands, they were lost with all the men and Arms, nothing sav'd. This was another check and a forerunner of the sad event which follow'd. However nothing terrifi'd with these unhappy presages, he arriv'd himself at the Isle of *Orkney*, having with him severall *Scotch* Gentlemen resolv'd to partake of his fortune. Here he continued a considerable time to raise such forces and recruits as the place would afford, which were poor, raw, untrain'd fellowes, making up the shew of an Army, but wholly ignorant of war. With these he embarkes and lands at *Cathanes* the farthest point to the *Northwest* of *Scotland*, expecting the coming of two thousand men rais'd in the Earle of *Seaforth's* Territories. His arrival, and that with Foreigners, immediately struck a terror into the whole Countrey as far

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as *Edenburgh*, where the Parliament then sitting forthwith order Lieutenant General *David Lesley*, Colonel *Straghan* and *Holborn* to march against him with 7000. foot and 3. Troops of Horse. In the mean time the *Marquess* moves but slowly, and to prevent misapprehension (since all the world was much astonish'd at his Invasion, whilst the King was upon a Treaty) puts forth a Declaration to make known, *That his intention was only against some particular persons who had against the Laws of the Kingdome rais'd and maintain'd a war against the King's Father, and did now by their subtle practices endeavour to circumvent and destroy the Son; That he intended nothing against the generality of the Kingdome. And lastly, exhorted all Subjects of that Nation to endeavour to free themselves from the Tyranny of those who for the present ruled the state, and from the op-*
pres-

pression of the Ministry. But the Countrey, partly through fear of the danger, and partly being over-awed by the Earle of *Sunderland*, did not come to second him as he expected. *Straughan* who commanded a choice party of Horse, advances before *Lesley's* body, whilst the Marquesse had effected nothing material besides the taking of *Dumbath Castle*. Upon *Straughan's* approach, a party of 100. were drawn forth, who encountered his Forlorn hope, and put them to retreat; but being immediately seconded by *Straughan's* whole body, who charged upon that of the Marquesse, the Islanders threw down their Armes and were dispers'd; only the *Dutch* Forces made an orderly retreat into some shrubs hard by, where having very valiantly defended themselves a while, they were at last enforced to yield. This was a totall Defeat: of 1200. which were
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in the field on the Marquess's side, 200. were slain, and all the rest taken, saving about a hundred who escaped by flight. Among the Prisoners of note were Major General Sir *John Vreay*, the Lord *Frendraught*, Sir *Francis Hay* of *Dalkettie*, Colonel *Hay* of *Naughton*, Colonel *Grey*, Lieutenant Colonel *Stuart*, with a great number of other considerable officers and two Ministers. The Royal Standard was also taken, in which was portrayed the Head of the late King, lying a bleeding, and severed from the body, with this Motto, IUDGE AND REVENGE MY CAUSE, O LORD. The Marquess himself when he saw the day lost, threw away his Cloak which had the Star on it (having receiv'd the order of the Garter a little while before) deserted his horse, changed his habit with a *Highlander*, and fled. The news of this Victory was

was so welcome to the State and Kirk of *Scotland*, that they rewarded *Straughan* with 1000. *l. Sterling*, and gratifi'd other officers. And to assure it, they order narrow search to be made for *Montrose*, propounding a great summe to any that should apprehend him. He had continued three or four dayes in the open fields without meat or drink, with onely one man in his company; till at length in this starving condition he discoverd himself to the Lord *Aston*, who had formerly been a friend of his. But his adversity and the promised reward made him now be lookt upon under another notion, so that either out of fear or covetousnesse, or both, this Lord sends this illustrious but unfortunate Heroe with a strong guard to *David Lesley*, by whom he was forthwith sent to *Edenburgh*, into which he was carried with all the ignominy, malice, assisted

sisted with zeal could invent: all which he underwent with extraordinary constancy and magnanimity. He was brought to the Towns end upon a Cart-horse, and at the Gates he was met by some officers and the Executioner in his Livery Coat. They put him into a high seat in fashion of a Chariot, and bound him about the breast and armes with a cord into a Chair. The Executioner (being so commanded) took off the Marquess his hat, and the chariot being drawn with four horses, put on his own bonnet, mounted one of the first horses, and so very solemnly drive along to the *Tol booth*. He had at that time many wounds about him; but none uncurable. The Parliament had resolv'd before-hand what sentence to pronounce upon him; but the more to disgrace him and to act with formality and insolence. He was brought before them, where he
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appeared in a rich attire with an undaunted countenance. His chief adversaries were *Argile*, an inveterate enemy to loyalty and consequently to this Noble *Marquis*, *Lowdon* the Chancellor, *Ker*, and *Cassells* who was gone in Commission to the King; but especially the fleabitten Ministers of *Edinburgh*, a generation of people, whose courses and practises are detested by all that understand any thing of the sobriety of Christian Religion. Being brought to the Bar of the House, the Chancellor told him first, *That he must kneel at the Bar.* Whereunto he answered, *My Lord, I shall with all my heart observe any posture you shall appoint me to appear before you in, whereby I may manifest to you, that I freely submit to the authority of Parliament, and to this present Parliament in a more especiall manner because you have concluded so near a Conjunction*
With

With his Majesty my Master in the late Treaty. After which the Chancellor made a Speech to him , the substance whereof was this.

SIR,

“ I am commanded to mind you
“ of the last judgement of *God* befall-
“ len you for your perfidious break-
“ ing of the *Covenant* , which might
“ justly provoke *God* thus to divert
“ your counsels and affairs, for ha-
“ ving been so eminent an Author
“ and Actor of mischief against this
“ Nation. You abandoned the *Co-*
“ *venant* and despised the *Oath of*
“ *God*, invaded your Native Coun-
“ try, and with most inhumane and
“ barbarous cruelty burnt and wast-
“ est divers parts thereof , and have
“ spilt much blood of his Majestie’s
“ good Subjects , taking advantage
“ of that time when the prime Com-
manders

“ manders & forces thereof were im-
 “ ploy’d elsewhere. For these Crimes
 “ you were excommunicated by the
 “ Church , and fore-faulted by the
 “ *Parliament* of this Kingdome , and
 “ yet still continued in the highest
 “ contempt against God under that
 “ fearfull sentence of excommuni-
 “ cation; And to this day have you
 “ remained without the least shew
 “ of Repentance. And *God* by his *Pro-*
 “ *vidence* hath now justly brought
 “ you hither to receive the Sentence
 “ of your Condemnation.

Hereunto the Illustrious Prisoner,
 having desir’d and obtain’d liberty,
 answer’d,

My Lord , *I am glad that I may*
to answer for my self. Though I
am here your prisoner , yet my cause is
good ; Nor is there any breach of the
Covenant on my part, in which I swore
to be true to his Majestie , his Heirs
and Successors. Concerning what I
have

have done in relation to the VVars & affairs of this Kingdome, I had not only a General Commission, but particular Orders for what I have done from his Majesty, which I was engag'd to obey by the said Covenant. And concerning my coming over now, I was ascertain'd that you had profess'd to comply with his Majesty in the present Affairs in which he hath employ'd me; and upon that Account it was that I have acted. I desire to refer my self, and to submit unto this present Parliament and the authority thereof to be my Iudges in this Case, whom I own as a true Parliament by authority from his Majesty; and I shall be content, however it shall please God to deal with me. As for my Life, if you take it away by this Authority, it is well known to the VWorld I regard it not: Death is a debt which all owe, and must once be pay'd by everyone; And I shall be willing and much rejoyce to goe the
same

same way which my Master pass'd before me ; and it is the joy of my heart not onely to do , but also to suffer for him.

After he had pronounced this with a very composed gravity, even to the admiration of all that heard him, he was commanded to withdraw. The *Parliament* were not long in debate, but unanimously resolv'd upon this Sentence of Condemnation, which, he being recall'd , was pronounc'd against him.

You are to be carried back to the place from whence you came, and from thence tomorrow being the 21. of May (1650.) to Edenburgh Crosse, there to be hanged on a Gallows 30. foot high for the space of 3. hours, with your History & Declaration about your neck, and then to be taken down, and your head cut off upon the Scaffold, and set upon Edenburgh Talbooth, and your legs and armes over the gates of the Cities

ties of Sterling, Dundee, Glasgow, and Aberdeen, your Trunk to be buried in the common place for Thieves and Robbers, except the Kirk take off your excommunication.

This sentence aggravated by the Chancellor in the utmost terms of horreur his spleen could invent, was undismaiedly receive dby the noble Marquesse, who answered, *That he took it for a greater to have his head stand on the Prison gate for this quarrel, then to have his Picture in the King's Bed-chamber. And least his Loyalty should be forgotten, they had highly honoured him in designing lasting monuments to bear up his memorial to all posterity; wishing he had flesh enough to have sent a piece to every City in Christendome to witnesse his Loyalty to his King and Countrey.*

The next day, having prepar'd his soul for Heaven, he marcht magnanimously to the Scaffold, and
not.

notwithstanding all the interruptions of the bitter spirited Priests, having made a sober speech to the people underwent the cruell sentence with all the ignominious circumstances, to his own perpetuall glory and the everlasting reproach of his Enemies.

Thus dyed this incomparable *Marquis* of immortal fame, a great example of unfortunate Virtue, whose barbarous murder, I have more particularly related, because it discovers the temper of that Covenanted party who put him to death. Posterity certainly will esteem his memory, and account his Iudges deserving a more exquisite punishment for this and other their inhumane actions then that they inflicted on him, if it be possible for the quintessence of malice to invent a greater.

Within a few dayes after four other Noble Gentlemen suffer'd for
the

the same cause, Sir *John Vrr y* (notwithstanding he pleaded the benefit of quarter) Col. *Spotswood* Laird of *Darcy*, Sir *Francis Hay* and Col. *Sibbald*; though they had the favour to be beheaded.

Such was the fate of his Majestie's affairs in *Scotland*, and the brave persons that manag'd them; and such was the unparallel'd insolence of the *Scots*, who dar'd to murther his best friends, while they were in Treaty with him, upon a base and ungenerous presumption, that the lownesse of his condition would enforce him to put up patiently so high and detestable an indignity. Which indeed, he was constrain'd to doe, as his affairs then stood. When the newes was brought to his Majesty at *Breda*, he was much startled at it, and exprest his Resentment of their proceedings by a Message sent them by Mr. *Murrey* "That he was griev'd to hear it credibly

“credibly reported that notwithstanding those hopefull overtures
 “of Peace lately made between him
 “and them, they had shed the blood
 “of some of his best Subjects of the
 “Kingdome of *Scotland* ; and that
 “the manner thereof according to
 “Reports did extremely trouble
 “him. But that he might understand
 “the Particulars more certainly he
 “desir’d an account of the business
 “from themselves.

In answer to this they profess’d
their affections were still reall to him,
and their Hearts much joy’d to hear
of his willingness to concur with them
in a happy agreement ; And desir’d
him not to stumble at some seeming
Obstacles, as the Death of Montrosse,
or their reducing of his Forces ;
 Assuring him there was nothing in
 what they did, but to accomplish his
 Ends and promote his Interests to
 his best Advantage. (This zealous
 F Nation

Nation do's God and the King good service , when they illegally and inhumanely murder their fellow-Christians and Subjects.)

These actions of the *Scots* and the business of the Covenant were the main impediments of the Treaty. But the murder of *Montrosse* though it might justly have deterr'd his Majesty from trusting himself into those hands which reek'd with his best servants Blood, could not be redress'd; and his necessities enforc'd him to dissemble all further resentment of it. As for the Covenant , he argu'd that it was the Subjects Covenant to bind them to their King , and not for him to swear to; and therefore he thought it sufficient to passe an Act for his People to take it. He likewise offered to confirme the *Presbyterian* Government in *Scotland*; Provided that himself might have alwaies three Chaplaines of his own Election ; As also to

confirm the Militia in the Hands of the Estates for five years ; Provided that afterwards it might return to himself. These particulars were agreed to ; & so a conclusion put to the Treaty. The newes whereof being carry'd to *Edenburgh*, the *Parliament* forthwith met, and the fourth Faction which I mention'd, viz. such as corresponded with the *Sectarian Junto* of *England* were so strangely and ridiculously impudent as to put it to the Vote, *Whether any more Addresses should be made to the King* (it seemed they desir'd to ape the abominable Monsters at *Westminster* , who pass'd a Vote of Non addresses after his late Majesty had consented to all their demands) there were 32. of these malevolent Negatives, but the major part carried it in the Affirmative. Whereupon a Message was resolv'd upon to be sent to him , wherein they invited him , *To make all possible*

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speed to come to his Kingdome of Scotland, and protested. They would assist him with their lives and fortunes to establish him in all his Dominions. Yet withall they forbore not to advertise him, they had Testimonies to produce of his actings by Letters to Montross (having belike intercepted 3. or 4.) contrary to his promise to them at the Treaty at Breda, (as they pretended.) However they were willing (out of speciall grace) to dispense with him for what was past, so that he would without delay, according to the Articles of Agreement come over into Scotland, and comply with the Parliament and the Kirk.

After this they betook themselves to make preparations for his Reception, Two of the chiefeſt Houses in *Edenburgh* were richly furnisht, and the Parliament took into consideration the nominating Officers for his Majesties Household, which they
did

did with much arrogance, not permitting those to wait upon him whom he chiefly favoured, & whom he judg'd best affected towards him, and by Proclamation prohibiting severall great Scotch Lords, as Duke *Hamilton*, the Earls of *Louderdale* and *Saforth*, with many other persons of Quality who had constantly attended on him in *Iersey* and *Holland*, from returning into *Scotland*.

Thus we have seen the deportment of the Covenanters towards his Majesty and Friends during his absence, we now come to relate their actions after he took possession personally of the Kingdome of *Scotland*: Which after the conclusion of the Treaty he did not delay to doe, but about the beginning of *June* he left the *Hague* and took shipping at *Scheveling* in *Holland*. By the way he was in some danger by reason of a tedious storm and cer-

tain *English* ships which ply'd about the Coast to way-lay him; but with some difficulty he escaped both, and arrived safe at a place called the *Spey* in the *North* of *Scotland*, whither some Lords were sent to receive and accompany him to *Edenburgh*. All the way he was entertain'd with the generall joy and acclamations of the people. At *Dundee* new Propositions were by Commissioners from the *Parliament* and *Kirk* presented to him to sign, which after some reluctance he performed. The town presented him of *Aberdeen* with 1500*l.* But the *Committee of Estates* sent to severall places who had the same intentions, enjoining them whatever Plate or mony they had to bestow, to bring the same into such a Treasury as they should appoint. As if it were unfit for his Majesty to be master of his own Purse. while they were in expectation of his Arrival the *Commit-*

tee of *Eſtates* and Parliament conſulted about forming of an Army for his ſervice as they pretended, and an Act was paſſ'd for training every fourth man capable to bear Armes throughout the Kingdom, & raiſing 16000. Foot and 6000. Horſe; in which the Earle of *Leven* was made General of the Foot, *Holborn* Major General, *David Leſley* Lieutenant General of the Horſe, and *Montgomery* Major General; the ſupreme Command being reſerv'd for his Majeſty. Who arriving at *Edenburgh* was entertain'd with many complements and congratulations, and on the 15 of *July* ſolemnly proclaimed King at the Croſſe, and ſhould have been Crown'd in the enſuing moneth, had not certain obſtacles cauſ'd the deferring of that ceremony. He had not been long there but the *Eſtates* and *Parliament* begin to buſie themſelves afreſh about modelling his

Retinue, and clearing his Household of such Malignants (as they term'd them) as were in his Service, excluding them also from all employment both about his Person and in the Army. As for himself, he had a strong Guard continually about him to attend him and observe his motions.

The English pretended Parliament had all this while sufficient intelligence of the *Scots* proceedings with his Majesty in the Treaty of *Breda*, together with their engagement to assist him in the recovery of his Rights in *England*, and this by the perfidiousnesse & treachery of some of the Fourth Faction I mention'd in the Parliament of *Scotland*. And therefore by the solicitation of these Traytors, and partly out of policy to prevent an invasion by making one, whereby the Enemies Country would become the Seat of the War, they

they prepar'd an Army against *Scotland*, and sent for *Cromwel* out of *Ireland*, on whom they confer'd the Command of Capt. General of all their Forces in the room of the Lord *Fairfax*, who gave up his Commission, abhorring to be longer a servant to such horrid designs as they had formerly put him upon.

About this time one *Ascham* whom the *Iunto* had sent Agent into *Spaine* was assassinated at *Madrid* together with his Interpreter *senior Riba* by a combination of six or seven men at *Madrid*, who after the fact took Sanctuary. *Dorislau* another Agent of the Upstart Republick had the same fate also, though more deservedly, about a year before in *Holland*. It hapned also during the Treaty was on foot between his Majesty and his Scottish Subjects, that Prince *Ruperi's* Fleet having for a long time been protected by the King of *Por-*

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rugal was utterly destroy'd upon that coast by *Blake* the *English* Admiral.

On the 28. of *June*, *Cromwel* got all things in readiness for a War, advanc'd towards *Scotland* in the head of 11000. Foot and 5000. Horse. And approaching to the Borders sent the *Scots* a Declaration from the pretended Parliament of *England*, and another from himself, to justify these proceedings. The *Scots* seem'd much surpris'd at this invasion without warning given, and therefore send to expostulate the Cause of it in a paper to *Hastlerig* then Governor of *New-Castle*, in another to *Cromwel*, and a third to the *Iunto*; in which they urg'd the *Solemn League and Covenant* and the former Union between the two Nations. But it was answer'd by a Declaration. 1. " That
" the *Scots* (contrary to their agree-
" ment) had once already invaded
Eng.

“ *England* under *D. Hamilton*, and
“ were now ready for a second in-
“ vasion ; so that the *English* were
“ advanc’d against them onely by
“ way of prevention. 2. That they
“ had made a Peace with the Com-
“ mon Enemy, & promised him assist-
“ ance to regain the other King-
“ domes he pretended to. 3. They
“ had resolved to impose their form
“ of Religion upon the *English* Na-
“ tion. These were the grounds
the *English* alledg’d for their pro-
ceedings. Accordingly *Cromwel* mar-
ches into *Scotland* taking all the Gar-
risons that lay in his way, till he came
to *Muscleborough* (a place famous
for a signall defeat given the *Scots* in
the Reign of *Edward* the 6.) there he
is set upon by Maj. Gen. *Montgomery*
and Col. *Straughan*; but the assailants
were put to the worst. After which
the two main Armies having for
some time moved at a small distance

one from another, the *Scots* declined engaging till they got the *English* at a great disadvantage at *Dunbar*, who by the difficulties of the place were so distress'd for provision, that they began to think of an escape by Sea, and would without doubt have taken that course, had not the *Scots* confidence of Victory induc'd them to set upon them (contrary to the great prudent maxims of War, viz. *To make a bridg for a flying Enemy, & not to drive an enemy Army to the utmost of despair*) The event of this engagement was, that the *Scots* instead of an assured Victory received a totall overthrow; 3000. of them being slain in the field, amongst whom was the Laird of *Libberton* & Col. *Lumsden*, about 8000. with Sir *James Lumsden* Lieut. Gen. of the Foot made prisoners, & 200. Colours (part of those that were afterwards hung up in *Westminster-Hall*) 15000. armes

armes and 30. pieces of Ordnance taken.

The King in the mean time was withdrawn to *St. Johnston's*, being so sensible of the *Scots* unfaithfulness, that he apprehended as much danger from them as from the Enemy. Here he received the news of this losse, which was followed with a greater, that of the excellent Princess his Sister *Elizabeth*, who dyed on the eight of *Sept. 1650.* at *Carisbrook* Castle in the Isle of *Wight*; a Lady of incomparable goodness & piety; and who deserved to have been born in a better Age, and in a lesse Barbarous Nation. The execrable murder of her Royall Father hastned her death; whither the same Villaines at the helme of the State contributed any thing towards it, though reported, I will not affirme. Onely I know they were enemies enough to that family & base enough,

to attempt as great a crime. It is recorded by some that the decease of this Illustrious Princeſſe afflicted his Maſteſty more then the loſſe of the Army at *Dunbar*; and perhaps he had reaſon, ſince himſelf ſeem'd leaſt concern'd in this; the Forces having been raiſed, and order'd wholly by the States and *Kirk's* command and for their intereſt. About this time alſo dyed the renowned Prince of *Orange*, to the great grief of the King, leaving his Princeſſe great with her firſt child, of which ſhe was ſafely deliver'd four dayes after being a Son & his Father's Succeſſour.

About this time Col. *Eusebius Andrews* having been found with a Commiſſion from his Maſteſty was condemned by a High-Court of Juſtice and beheaded on Tower-Hill.

Immediately after this notable Victory, *Cromwel* made himſelf maſter of *Edinburgh* and of *Leith*; onely the Caſtle

Castle of *Edinburgh* held out for a good while after.

The King being unable to bear the imperiousness and hard impositions of the *Estates* and *Kirk*, extorting a Declaration from him to condemn his own proceedings and those of his best affected party, banishing his friends from about him, & usurping the whole Government of all affairs both Ecclesiastical and Civil into their own hands, and placing guards about his Person, &c. secretly escapes from *St. Johnston's* in much discontent (in order, as some think, to going beyond Sea) accompanied onely with four Horsemen toward the North of *Scotland*, where the Marquis of *Huntley*, the Earls of *Athol* and *Seaforth*, the Lords *Ogleby* and *Newburgh* with the *Gourdon's* and the men of *Athol* were ready to appear for him with a considerable force.

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and desire him graciously to return: a different Faction of the Covenanters under the command of *Straughan* and *Kerr* in the West set forth a Remonstrance to the Committee of Estates taxing them of imprudence and temerity in hastning to conclude a Treaty with, receiving & entertaining the King, before he had given any convincing evidence of a reall change, after his commissioning Montrose to invade Scotland; judging his profession of the Cause & the Covenant merely counterfeited, as appear'd by his favouring Scotch and English Malignants (as they termed them.) And for these reasons they absolutely refus'd to submit to his power and authority. Of this Faction besides *Kerr* and *Straughan* were the Lord *Warreston* (lately a Member of our pretended Committee of Safety) and Sir *John Chiesy*. An accommodation was endeavoured

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to be made between them and the *Estates* at *St. Johnston's*; but they stood off, and declar'd against King and Lords on the one side, and the Sectarian *English* Army on the other. Thus was this poor Nation divided among themselves, whilst at the same time a merciless forraign enemy was ravaging in the bowels of it. However the *Committee of Estates* and *Kirk* (several of whose great sticklers were become very inclinable to his Majestie) resolve at length to dispatch Maj. Gen. *Montgomery* with a party of Horse after him, humbly to intreat his return. *Montgomery* upon inquiry understanding that his Majesty was at the *L. Dedup's* House in the North confines of Fife, hastens thither, and first surrounding the House, enters and upon his knees acquaints the King what desires he brought from the *Committee of Estates*. But he absolutely refus'd at first,

first, as not enduring the Subjection they had made him live in; The news whereof brought to the *Estates*, set the Kirk Party & such as favou'd the *English* Sectaries a gog again, who hereupon were very violent for no more Addresses to be made to him, whose motion began to have some influence upon the rest. In the mean time his Majestie was urgently solicited by the Marq. of *Huntly* & the *Athol* men that rose for him in the North to adhere solely to them, undertaking to secure him against the *Kirk* and all others: To which invitation he seem'd very prone to hearken, so that the Breach betwixt him and the Covenanted Patty who brought him in, was near become irreconcilable. But the consideration of the danger which might redound from the forraign Enemy by occasion of this division, the concession of some propositions, together with
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the importunity of *Montgomery* & the industry of some attendants about him, induc'd him to returne Back with the Maj. Gen. to *St. Johnston's*. And it was judg'd requisite to unite all parties (if possible) against the common Enemy: to which purpose *Huntly* and *Middlton* were treated with, who refus'd to submit, and marcht up within a mile of *St. Johnston's* where they had like to have been engag'd by *David Lesley*. But upon some concessions (as to be admitted into places of Trust, &c.) a Treaty was concluded. One would have thought now the service against the Common Destroyer of their Country would have been unanimously carried on; yet this reconciliation begat another fewd (as if the zealots of this Nation had been infatuated purposely for their own ruin.) The Ministers of *Sterling* were so farre from consenting to this Treaty

Treaty that they past the Sentence of Excommunication upon *Middleton*, in defiance of the Estates at *St. Iohnston's*, and being summon'd thither to a general meeting to be held there consisting of King, Lords, Barons, Burgesses, and Assembly of Ministers to consult for the good & safety of the King, Kingdome and Kirk, they refused, and advised the *Estates* to be at a greater distance from the King & his Council, and rather to come to *Sterling*. But at length with much adoe they were brought to go to *St. Iohnston's*. Much time had been lost in these fall differences, and the publick safety was neglected, whilest men minded the satisfaction of their own perverse and malicious humours. It was now highly requisite to look about them, & therefore *Middleton* was employ'd with a Commission and Instructions from his Majestie (who well

well enough understood that the safety of himself and that Nation depended wholly on the unanimity of his Subjects) to treat with some forces in the Highlands who still refused to submit.

The grand Assembly convene, & as the first evidences of concord divers *Scotch* Lords formerly in disfavour with the *Kirk* were received into the Army or the Parliament, as Duke *Hamilton*, the Lords *Landerdale*, *Buchaim*, *Leith*, *Dedap*, *Crawford*; and of the *English*, Major General *Masse*y, was admitted to a command in the Army.

Col. *Ker* in the West of *Scotland* who had stood off from all parties hitherto, at length so far comply'd with the *Kirk*-Grandees, that he took *Straughan* prisoner, who by *Cromwel's* inveiglement inclin'd to side with the *English* (a right *Scot*.) But not long after *Kerr* was defeated
and

and taken by Maj. Gen. *Lambert* ; a just reward & consequence of his seditious discord. About the beginning of *October* , some Gentlemen and others in *Norfolk* took Armes against the Tyranny of the pretended Parliament, declaring for the restitution of the Ancient Government of the Land by a King and the Lawes; but the County *Militia* and some Forces from *Lin* suddenly dispersed them, taking some whom afterwards by a solemn new way of murder first practis'd at *VWestminster* upon the late King , and afterwards in most places of *England* upon his friends, they put to death at *Norwich*. A little before this they likewise executed at *Tyburn* one Mr. *Benson* , for having been guilty of the same pretended Treason with Col. *Eusebius Andrewes* formerly beheaded.

On *Decemb. 24.* *Edenburgh Castle* having endur'd a violent siege 3 Moneths

Moneths surrender'd to *Cromwel*, & so did other strong Castles & places, as *Nesbit*, *Berthwick* and *Roswell*, &c. so successfull were their Impious Armes, by God's providence, who was pleas'd to use them as a scourge for these sinfull Nations.

Preparations in the mean time were made for the Coronation of his Majesty, for the celebrating of which the 1. of *January* had been long before design'd by the *Estates*. The place was the Town of *Scoon*, where 150. Kings of that Nation had formerly been Crown'd. Thither therefore his Majesty, with the Nobility, Barons and Burgeses in their robes, remov'd, the whole *Scotch* Army standing all the way as a guard making a lane between those two places. The solemnity was performed with as much Pompe and Ceremony as the present State of things would permit, and with loud Acclamations,

mations , Bonfires , shooting of Guns, &c. His Majesty having first heard a Sermon preacht by Mr. *Rob. Douglas* , sitting upon a Scaffold erected in the Church of *Scoone*, took the ordinary Coronation Oath and subscribed the National Covenant with the solemn League and Covenant. After which he ascended upon a Stage a little Higher then the former, & sate down in the Throne; when the people being demanded four times by the King at Armes, *Whether they were willing to accept of King CHARLES for their King, & becom subject to his Commandments*, exprels'd their consent with loud Acclamations , *God save King CHARLES the Second*. This being done, his Majesty was cloathed by the Lord Chamberlain with his Royall Robes; the Crown was set upon his Head by the Marquis of *Argyle*, and the Scepter put into his hand,

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the Sword was put about him by the Earle of *Marshall*, and the Spurs put on by the Earle of *Eglinton*. Then the Nobility being called by the Herald, one by one swore allegiance & fealty to his Majesty, touching the Crown upon his head with their right Hand, in these Words, *By the Eternal & Almighty God who liveth & reigneth for ever, I shall support thee to the uttermost.* The people also holding up their hands swore obedience to his Majesty according to the usual Oath. And to conclude all, an exhortatory Oration was made by Mr. *Rob. Duglasse* and a Prayer. Which being done his Majesty and the Nobility departed out of the Church in the former Order and Pompe, the Earle of *Glencarn* carrying the Sword before him.

The Ceremonies being thus ended his Majesty and the Nobility were intertain'd at a Stately and Magnificent

cent Dinner, which done, they all returned to *St. Johnston's* in the same manner they came in; his Majesties Guard consisting of the Sons of divers great *Scotch* Lords and other Members of Parliament, the Captain whereof was the Lord of *Lorne* Son to *Argile*. I have omitted the full relation of all the passages at his Majesties Inauguration, because they have been already frequently publish'd, and lest they should add too much to the bulk of this volume.

This business being over, it behoved his Majesty to provide for the defence of his Crown and Kingdoms in order whereunto he set up his Standerd at *Goertern*, to which a considerable number of men in a short time repaired, of whom himself was General; Duke *Hamilton* Lieut General of the Army; *David Leslie* Major General, *Archiebald*

Lieut. Gen. of the Horse, and *Massey* Commander in chief of all the English Forces.

The Parliament of *Scotland* which had adjourn'd during his Majestie's Coronation, reassembled about the beginning of *March* and much contest there was for several Lords of the Royal Party to be admitted to their Seats in the House ; which by reason of the opposition of the Kirk-assemblies at *Sterling* and *Aberdeen* could not be obtain'd till they had pass'd *the Stool of Repentance*; which Duke *Hamilton* did with some kind of splendour, having a Table plac'd before him covered with black Velvet with a Cushion of the same, and making a great Feast that day.

In this Session a Committee was appointed to consider of the State of Affairs, and examine obstructions; by whom severall persons that were found

found to hold correspondence with the English Army had their Estates sequestred and some were try'd for their lives; *Arguile* at the same time and other Covenanteer Lords repining at the admission of the Royall Lords into the Parliament & Army, as if they should thereby become overpower'd or utterly discarded. And indeed to these two pernicious qualities, Treachery and particular Ambition (peculiar almost to that Nation) his Majestie's and that Kingdome's ensuing misfortunes ought to be ascrib'd.

In the mean time his Majesty was very active in modelling his new Army, whose Rendezvous was at the East of *Fife*, encouraging them many times with his presence and speech, the *English* gaine two very strong Castles, *Hume* and *Trimpallon* lying between *Berwick* and *Edenburgh*, the former by Colonel *Fenwick*, and

the other by Colonel *Monck*. But to prevent their further progresse, his Majesty personally visited all the Garrisons of *Fife*, and put them in a posture to hinder the *English* from landing on that side the *Frith*; after which he went to the Assembly at *Aberdeen* to endeavour by his presence and authority to compose Dissentions. And having taken this order at home, he imploy'd the Earle of *Dumferling* Ambassadour into *Holland*, & Mr. *Crofts* into *Russia*, besides others into other Nations to sollicite for assistance. Thus he acquitted himself as far as humane prudence could reach; but abroad his Ambassadours receiv'd nothing but fruitlesse promises and empty complements, amongst whom Sir *Henry Hyde* Lieger at *Constantinople* had the worst fortune; for I know not upon what contest between him and Sir *Thomas Bendish* that lay there in
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behalf of the New State, *Rendish* got him into his hands, and sent him over into *England*, where (as other Loyall Subjects had formerly been) he was formally tryed before a parcel of Murderers in a pretended High Court of Iustice, condemned and beheaded near the Old Exchange in *London* on *March 4. 1650.* A person he was of great parts, honesty and loyalty. Of the same cup also and from the same hands tasted Captain *Brown Bushel*, an expert Seaman, who had lately done notable service for his Majesty by sea. He was beheaded on *Tower-hill* on the 25. of *April 1651.*

But to proceed; No considerations could move the dissenting Conventured *Scots*. The *W*Clergy like fire-brands were as eager to tunc their Countrey with their tongues, as the Sectarian Army could be with the sword; *Guthrie, Cant, Durham,*

Galeſpy, men of hot ſpirits, inflaming inconfiderable diſcontents to high outrages, as if a ſpirit of diſunion had wholly poſſeſs'd them, and ſo perverted their judgements, that petty animoſities were protecuted with greater zeal then the publick Cauſe. *Malignants* it ſeems had commands given them, and grew potent; this was the ground of conteſt. Some covenanted Lords too, either for that they were Kirk-ridden, or blinded with envy and ambition, began to be diſſatiſf'd: whereupon *London* was diſcharged from being Chancellor, & the Lord *Burleigh* ſubſtituted. This begat ill bloud. The Earle of *Sutherland* aſſembled about 500. men, and ſeem'd to intend them upon another account. What courſe then ſhould his Maieſty take amidſt this perverſe Nation? However, he omitted no means that the moſt prudent and diligent Prince could uſe, aſwell to recon-

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concile Differences as to compleat his levies; to which purpose he obtain'd an Act of the Parliament for levying fifteen thousand foot, and eight thousand horse. Soon after which the Parliament adjourned till the seventeenth of *April* devolving the Civill Power in the mean time into the Hands of a Select Council, and the Military upon a *Committee of War* consisting of twenty persons chosen out of each of the *Three Estates*. Speciall care was taken about the fortifying of *Sterling*, the King himself going often to hasten the compleating of them, and shortly after removed his Court from *St. Johnston's* thither. The 29. of *May*, being his Majestie's Birth-day was solemniz'd with great rejoycing throughout *Scotland*, the Parliament adjourning and his Majesty dining that day with most of the Nobility

at a great Feast ; and the Town of *Dundee* to expresse their affections beyond all the rest, presented his Majesty with a rich Tent, 6. Field-pieces of Ordnance, and advanced a brave Regiment of Horse for his service at their own charges. Mean while the *English* pursue their advantages, and Col. *Monk* takes *Blacknesse* a strong place between *Edinburgh* and *Sterling* by surrender. Which losse was not so considerable as that of the Earle of *Eglinton* (a person of eminent worth and authority) who having been sent into the West with some other Commanders to raise Forces , and coming to *Dunbarton* to put his Commission in execution, was there surpris'd by a party of Horse sent thither for that purpose by Col. *Lilburne* , together with his Son Col. *Ia. Montgomery* , Lieut. Col. *Colburn*, &c. and carried to *Edinburgh*.

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About this time also, the pretended Parliament of England, judging it advantageous to get into their power those lesser Islands which held out for his Majesty, sent their General *Blake* to that of *Scilly*, who with three hundred Seamen in a short space reduced the most important places in it.

The Parliament of *Scotland* being reassembled at *St. Johnston's* after their adjournment, his Majesty sent a Message to them, desiring, 1. *That the Act about the Classes of Malignants might be repeal'd.* 2. *That no more mention might be made of the name of Malignants amongst them.* 3. *That Duke Hamilton, the Earles of Calendar and Seaforth and others might have full command in the Army.* These proposals which were of high importance to the common safety, and consensateous as well to Religion as reason of State, were not

notwithstanding vehemently opposed by *Argyle* and the Covenanted gang ; yet the moderate party prevailed , and they were carried in the affirmative. And having pass'd these and the Act of Indemnity, and taken order for the pressing of men , they dissolved about the beginning of *June*. For the expediting the Levies, *Argyle*, *Huntly* and *Seaforth* were dispatcht away to their several Territories. *Cromwel* in the meantime had been very sick ; so that there pass'd little of action during that time ; nor were the *Scots* willing to engage till their forces were compleated. Maj. Gen. *Massey* had received instruction to fall into *England* with the *English* Horse and Foot under his command , and together with the Duke of *Buckingham* and the Lord *Wilmos* to join with a party in *Lancashire* that were to rise for the King. The designe was chiefly promoted

moted at *London* by some of the Presbyterian Clergy, who held correspondence with Maj. Gen. *Massey*, and contributed divers summes of money to his assistance. But a ship bound for the Isle of *Man* being driven into *Ayre* in *Scotland*, was taken and Letters found in her which discover'd the whole Confederacy: whereupon the chief heads of it in *London* were apprehended, Mr. *Cook*, *Gibbons*, *Love*, *Ienkins*, *Drake*, and others; Two of whom, viz. Mr. *Love*, and Mr. *Gibbons* had a formal tryall before a pretended High Court of Justice, & were beheaded on *Tower-hill* *An. 22. 1651*. The rest upon their repentance and supplications were afterwards released. By this means the intended Irruption and Insurrection were frustrated.

Cromwel being now recovered from his sickness, & having contracted all his forces into a Body by drawing in his

his out-guards or petty Garrisons, and having receiv'd great supplies of Ammunition from *Berwick* and 80000. l. from the *Tunno* by Sea for his Souldiers, resolves upon a speedy encounter. His Forces consisted of 14. Regiments of Horse and 12. Regiments of Foot, 6. Troops of Dragoons and 16. pieces of Ordnance. With these about the latter end of *June* he advances into *Lithgow*, and endeavour'd to dare the *Scots* to an engagement, who lay strongly encamped at *Torwood* within 3. miles of *Sterling*; But they thought fit to decline battle till their Forces were complicated. Wherefore to intercept their supplies of provision *Col. Overton* was commanded with 1600. foot and 4. Troops of Horse, to fall into the North of *Fife*; who accordingly embarking his men in small Boats landed them at the North-Ferry in spite of all opposition; *Cromwel* him-

himself in the mean time marching with his whole Army close up to the *Scots*, intending to fall upon their Rear in case they mov'd to disturb the Enterprise. However, Maj. Gen. Sir *John Brown* and Maj. Gen. *Holburn* were dispatcht to drive the *English* out of *Fife* again; but before they could come up to them, *Lambert* and *Okey* were joyn'd with *Overton* with 2. Regiments of Horse and two of Foot. And with this unexpected reinforcement, the *English* wholly defeated the *Scots*, killing 2000. upon the place, and taking above 1200 prisoners, among whom was the Commander in chief Maj. Gen. *Brown*, who did not long survive this losse, but dyed (as is conceiv'd) of grief, having alwaies approved himself to his Majesty a person of much fidelity and courage. This defeat was the bane of the *Scotch* affairs. For soon after the *English* took
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in Garrisons almost as fast as they approacht them. *Brunt* Island and a strong Forth called *Innesgarvy* situate in an Isle lying in the *Frish* were reduc'd by Maj. Gen. *Lambert*; and within a few dayes after *Cromwel* took the Town of *St. Johnston's* after one dayes siege by surrender. This prodigious successe caused his Majesty to alter his Counsels, and designe an irruption into *England*; which was resolv'd upon out of probable hopes that many of his loyall Subjects there would betake themselves to his assistance when they understood he was in the head of an Army in it. This indeed was a desperate course; but (according to that of the great Physician,) what matter's it whether the remedy be desperate when there is but one? *Scotland* was in a manner already lost, the Army he had levyed were raw unexperienc'd men, and all the Garrisons round about were possesst

possess by the Enemy, whose Forces were far more numerous, and better provided of Ammunition and able Horses, and besides had been animated by frequent Victories, and the spoil of such places, as they had taken. Possibly in *England* his Majesty might soon have forces competent to match them; at least he should not be beset with so many difficulties, and one fortunate Field might wholly turn the Scale. Accordingly, upon Thursday *July 31. 1651.* all things being in readiness the Scotch Army left their Camp at *Sterling* (which was soon after deliver'd to Lieut. Gen. *Monk*) and the sixth day after being about 16000. entered *England* by the way of *Carlisle*. Upon intelligence of this sudden March, *Cromwell's* Army (of which the greatest part was in *Fife*) forthwith cross'd the *Firth*, and first *Lambert* is sent with 3. Regiments of Horse and Dragoons
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to fall upon the Scots rear; Cromwel himself soon after (*Aug. 6.*) following with 8. Regiments of Foot, 2. of Horse, and 3. great Guns, having left 6000. horse and foot with Lieutenant General Monk to reduce the remaining garrisons of Scotland. Major General Harrison being advanc'd the nearest England, with 3000. horse and Dragoons attended the motion of the Scotch Army, and the Westminster Iuncto suddenly bestir themselves to raise the Militia of the whole Nation, and make an Act to forbid all relief and succour to be given to his Majesty or his Forces under penalty of High Treason. Immediately the Militia's of most Counties were drawn into the Field against him, and for the hindring of his progresse, 2000. of the County Militia of Staffordshire, and 4000. out of Lancashire and Cheshire under Colonel Birch joyned with Lambert
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and *Harrison*; whose first attempt upon the Royal Army, was at *VVar-rington* bridge, the passage of which was very sharply disputed, but at length gain'd by the *Scots* with the losse of some men. In the mean time a party in *Wales* began to rise for the King, intending to have joyned with the Earle of *Derby* from the Isle of *Man*; but the design was crusht before it came to any thing. The march of the *Scotch* Army was manag'd with extreme civility to the people as they past, no souldier daring to plunder or steal the least thing whatever, having been terrified by the punishment of one of their number who was shot to death for entering an Orchard. But as this carriage of theirs, together with his Majesties invitations, did not so prevail upon the people to come in to him as he expected, so by the way fear depriy'd him of about the fourth
part

part of the Army he brought out of *Scotland*. It was deliberated by his Majesties council whether or no to march forthwith to *London*; but the way was too tedious, and the soldiers were much wearied with their journey already, and it was hoped the interest Major General *Masse*y had in *Glocestershire* would procure a confluence of men from those parts. Assoon as the Army entred *England*, and afterwards at every Market-town his Majesty was proclaimed King of *England* by an *English* man whom he had created King at Armes, with much satisfaction of the Country. However, such was the fate of these Nations, for the punishment of whose sins a severe yoke was reserved by Providence, (for I know not what apparent reason to ascribe their actions to in this occasion) that in stead of assisting their just and lawfull Prince, they arose

rose generally in Armes against him. The Lord *Fairfax* (who till then had been believ'd sensible of some remorse for his former proceedings) appear'd in the Field with a formidable body to flank the Royal Army as they marcht, *London* pour'd out her numerous *Militia*, and the adjacent Counties were by strict order of Parliament enjoin'd to set out Horse and Men at their own charges. The King in the mean time receiv'd no considerable supply, saving one Troop of Horse commanded by a noble young Gentleman Sir *Cecill Howard*, son to the Lord *Howard of Estrich*. Neverthelesse there wanted not courage in the breasts of the Nobility and Gentry with his Majesty, whose great resolutions made them hope even in the midst of despair. From *Tang Norton* his Majesty sent a Trumpetter with a Letter and Summons to Col. *Mackworth* Governour

vernour of *Shrewsbury* which I shall venture to insert with the Answer; His Majesties Letter was in these words.

Col. Mackworth. Having sent you herewith a Summons to render into my hands my Town with the Castle of *Shrewsbury*, I cannot but perswade my self you will doe it, when I consider you a Gentleman of an ancient House, and of very different principles (as I am informed) from those with whom your employment ranks you at present. If you shall peaceably deliver them unto me, I will not onely pardon what is past, and protect you and yours in your persons and all that belongs to you, but reward so eminent and seasonable a Testimony of your Loyalty with future Trust and Favour, and doe leave it to your selfe to propose the particular, being upon that condition ready to grant you presently any thing you shall reasonably desire,
and

and to approve my self your Friend;
C. R.

The Summons also which accompanied this Letter was to the same effect. But whether the Governor lookt upon his Majestie's condition as too forlorne to engage on his side, or acted really out of an hostile principle, I will not determine: but the answer he returned to his Sovereign Lord the King was in the following termes directed,

To the Commander in chief of the
Scottish Army.

SIR, By your Trumpetter I received two Papers; the one containing a Proposition, the other a direct summons for the rendition of the Town & Castle of Shrewsbury, the custody whereof I have received by authority of Parliament. And if you believe me a Gentleman (as you say you do) you may believe I will be faithfull to my trust, to the

violation whereof neither allurements can perswade me, nor threatnings of force, especially when but paper ones, compell me. What Principles I am judged to be of, I know not; but I hope they are such, as shall declare me honest, and no way differing herein (as I know) from those engaged in the same employment with me, who should they desert the Cause they are embarked in, I resolve to be found, as I am, unremoveable; the faithfull servant of the Commonwealth of England,
H. Mackworth.

About the same time also his Majesty sent the like summons to *Sr Thomas Middleton*, Governour of *Chirk Castle* in *Shropshire*; but this Gentleman was not altogether so civil as the former; for in stead of returning any answer at all, he caus'd the Messenger to be seized and sent away prisoner to *Wrexham*, who was afterwards hanged at *Chester* for this service.

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It having been resolv'd upon debate by his Majestie's Council rather to march Westward then towards *London*, his Army accordingly enter'd the City of *Worcester* upon Friday the 22. of *August*. 1651. after one or two repulses by the Forces that kept the City ; the Inhabitants not onely not opposing the *Scots* entrance but helping to beat the *English* Souldiers out. In his Majestie's March hither he had sent a Copy of his Declaration (in which he offer'd pardon to all that would return to their Allegiance) enclosed in a gracious Letter to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of the City of *London*, which by order of the Usurping *Jun-10* at Westminster was on the 26. of *Aug* publicly burnt at the old Exchange by the Hangman. And a day or two after at a Muster of 14000. men in Moorfields the insolent Speaker *Lenthall* repaired thither,

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and caused a fellow with a Link to burne a Copy of his Majestie's Declaration in the head of every Regiment.

On Saturday the 23. of *Aug.* his Majesty was there proclaimed King of *Great Brittain, France and Ireland* by Mr. *Thomas Lifens* Mayor and Mr. *James Bridges* Sheriff of the City, with the great acclamations and joy of the loyall Citizens. And on the same day also his Majesty sent abroad a Declaration, given at his City of *Worcester*, for summoning all the neighbouring Nobility, Gentry and others from sixteen years of age to sixty, upon their Allegiance, to appear in their persons with Horse and Armes at *Pitchcroft* on Tuesday following the 26. of *Aug.* where his Majesty would be present. On which accordingly appear'd at the said Rendezvous these loyall persons following, *Francis Lord Talbot* (now Earle of
of

of *Shrewsbury*) with about 60. Horse, *Mervin Touchet* Esq. Sir *John Packington*, Sir *Walter Blunt*, Sir *Ralph Clare*, *Ralph Sheldon* of *Beoly* Esq. *John Washburn* of *Witchingford* Esq. with 40. Horse, *Tho. Acton* Esq. *Rob. Blount* of *Kentiswick* Esq. *Rob. Wgmore* of *Lacton* Esq. *Thomas Hornyold* of *Blackmore Park* Esq with 40. Horse, *Francis Knotsford* Esq. and divers others.

The works of this City had for the most part been slighted a while before, and therefore all endeavours were us'd to fortify it again. About two or three dayes before the King's arrivall at *Worcester*, the Earl of *Derby* landed at *Weywater* in *Lancashire* with 250. Foot and 60. Horse from his Isle of *Man*; which leaving with the King he return'd into that County & by his interest in it got together a Body of 1500. with which he was halting to *Manchester*

to join with 500. more, and would probably have increas'd his forces in a short time to a greater number. But Col. *Lilburn* being order'd to prevent him with 3. Regiments and some Horse out of *Cheshire*, was forc't to an engagement by the Earl; out of a purpose to hinder him from joining with other forces which were sent against him. The contest was sharp and doubtfull for an hour, till at length the Earl's Forces were put to flight, & himself being wounded, narrowly escap'd to *Worcester*; severall persons of quality were slaine of his Party, as the Lord *VViddrington*, Sir *Tha. Tilsley*, Col. *Trollop*. Col. *Galliard* with some others of good note: Among the taken were Maj. Gen. Sir *VVill. Throckmorton*, Sir *Timothy Fetherstonhaugh*, Col. *Matthew Bointon*, Major *Chester*, Col. *Rich. Legg*, Col. *John Robinson*, Col. *Ratclif Gerard*, besides other Officers (some of

of which soon after dyed of their wounds) 400. private Souldiers were taken with all the Armes and Ammunition, the Earles *George*, *Garter* and 3. Cloaks with Stars, and about 60. slain. The Earle of *Derby* & Col. *Roscarrock* after this overthrow, which was on the 25. of *Aug.* by the assistance of one Mr. *Snead* and one Mr. *Elliot* got to his Majesty at *Worcester*; where neverthelesse his Majesty & the Forces with him were resolute against all disasters; the Fortifications were carried on with all possible diligence, and the Mount at the *South-East* end of the Town strongly secured.

On the other side the Parliament by their new levies had encreased their Forces to a prodigious number, which as their own writers record, amounted to above 30000. About three dayes after the former Victory *Cromwel* marcht up before

Worcester with 17000. Horse and Foot, besides the parties under the Lord *Grey of Groby*, *Lambert* and *Harrison*, which in all made up above 30000. men. The first encounter was at *Vpion*-Bridge 7. miles from *Worcester*, which the Royalists had broken upon newes of their coming, onely one Plank (either through negligence or treachery) was left of it; over which *Lambert* pass'd some Redcoats, who perceiving the *Scots* took the alarm, fled into a Church. Whereupon Maj. Gen. *Massej* gave a camifado to the Church; but in the mean time *Lambert* having pass'd over a supply of Horse, fell upon the back of the Royallists, and overpowering them put them to a retreat, which was performed by Maj. Gen. *Massej* with much gallantry who was in the rear, sometimes marching off and sometimes fighting, till he escaped to *Worcester*

cester ; in which service he received a shot in the Arme and his Horse was slain under him.

After this the Enemies disposed themselves in the manner they conceiv'd most convenient to streighten the Town. To which purpose *Fleetwood* having left a sufficient force to secure the passe at *Vpton*, approacht nearer the City, & *Cromwel* gave order for two Bridges to be made, the one of boats over *Severne* under *Bun-hill* a mile below the City, and the other over *Teame* a lesser River that falls into *Severn*; and this, for the better conjunction of the Army.

On the 29. of *Aug.* *Cromwel* fac'd the City with a great body of Horse and Foot, but drew off again and attempted nothing.

But on Saturday *Aug.* 30. It was resolv'd by his Majesty at a Council of Warre to beat up the Enemies Quarters that night with 1500.

choise Horse and Foot, commanded by Maj. Gen. *Middleton* and Sir *William Keyth*, all of them wearing their shirts over their Armour for distinction: the result was accordingly put in execution, and might in all probability have prov'd importantly successfull, had not the designe been most traiterously discover'd to the Enemy by one *Guyes* a Tailor in the City, who was rewarded with a Halter for his treachery; but the *Westminster Junta* to shew how affectionately they regarded base and treacherous actions, gave *Guyes* wife 200 l. down and 200 l. *per annum* during her life. This sally was made with much gallantry and resolution; but the Enemy having receiv'd intelligence of the design, were in readiness to receive the Royalists; and nevertheless were unable to bear the shock, till bringing on successively fresh forces, their number constrain'd

strain'd the Assailants to retire. In this Action Major Knox was slain, and some few made prisoners.

In this condition was his Majesty at Worcester having about 10000. Scots and 2000. English with him, and surrounded with a numerous Army of three to one in an ill-fortified City. Which odds, being consider'd, I presume no rational man will account it a Miracle for the better cause and lesser number to be worsted by the greater. The Hearts of the besieged were as courageous as those of their enemies, and no doubtless burd'ned with lesse guilt. They were also animated by the example of his Majestie's heroicall resolution, who determin'd not be behind any of his party in danger. And now the fatal day appear'd the third of September, on which the year before, the Scots were so considerably overthrown at Dunbar which defeat occu-

casion'd the losse of that Kingdome.

In the morning his Majesty held a Council of War upon the Top of the *Colledge-Church* Steeple, the better to view in what manner the Enemy lay. From whence perceiving the Enemy's new bridges, and a kind of a skirmish at *Powick* bridge, he forthwith commanded all to their Armes, and march'd thither himself, where he gave order for the making good of that passe and opposing that of the Enemy over *Severne*. Soon after his return to the City, the Enemy assaulted *Powick* bridge furiously, which was valiantly defended by a Brigade of Horse and Foot under Maj. Gen. *Rob. Montgomery* and Col. *George Keyth*, till the former being dangerously wounded and his Ammunition spent, was forc'd to retire disorderly into *Worcester*, and the latter was taken prisoner by the Enemy.

This

This place being won , there was no time to deliberate longer. Wherefore it was resolv'd to engage *Cromwel* forthwith, who lay at *Perry-wood* within a mile of *Worcester*. The onset was given with a great deal of fury by the Royallists , intomuch that *Cromwel*'s invincible Life-guard was unable to bear the shock and compell'd to give ground in some disorder ; their great Guns also were for some time in the power of the Royalists. The Rebell Commanders had put the new rais'd County forces to bear the first brunt of the encounter , of whom the Royalists made a horrible slaughter.

His Majesty himself lead up the *Scots* Foot in this battle , and that with so much courage and gallantry , that his inveterate enemy *Cromwel* could not but applaud his valour. The Fight continued for the space of three or four

four houres very sharp and fierce, during which his Majesty had his Horse twice shot under him, and rallied the Infantry himself; untill by the successive supplies of fresh forces they were in a manner all lost. The Rebels had great advantage not onely in being more numerous, but fighting both with Horse and Foot against his Majesty's Foot onely; for the *Scotch* Horse did not engage at all in this encounter, which some impute to the treachery of *David Lesley* who in the mean time commanded a brave body of Horse to stand still, and look on the ruine of their King and Fellow-subjects, threatening the first man that stirr'd with death. For the truth of which relation I dare not undertake; but it is certain the *Scotch* Horse under *Lesley* were scarce any more then Spectators of the battle, nor is it incredible but that treachery might be practis'd

practis'd by a *Scot* , and money imploy'd by *Cromwel* for conquest as well as force. The remainder of the forlorne Royall Army being put to flight were pursued into the Town by the Victors ; his Majesty was one of the last in the field , and could hardly be periwaded to outlive that day.

At *Sudbury*-gate , through which the routed Royalists fled, an Ammunition Waggon was overthrown & lay crosse the passage, so that his Majesty was enforc'd to alight and enter into the City on foot. In the *Fryers* street he took a fresh Horse, and perceiving many of his Foot throw down their Armes, and decline fighting , he rode up and down among them, sometimes with his hat in his hand , intreating them to stand to their Armes , and sell their lives as dear as they could. But seeing his encouragements ineffectuall , he said,

I had rather you would shoot me then keep me alive to see the sad consequences of this fatall day. Nevertheless the Earle of Cleveland, Sir James Hamilton, Col. William Carlis (then Major to the Lord Talbot) and some Officers rallied what force they could (which was unproportionable to that of the Assailants,) and gave a check to the Enemy as they were entring in at Sudbury Gate and valiantly disputed that street with them. Which action was very important to secure his Majesties flight. In the mean time Fleetwood's men were on the other side of the City masters of St Johns, and having wholly disperst all opposers fell to plunder. As soon as Cromwel had made his way into Sudbury-street, whilst some of his Forces were furiously killing and slaying all that were in the streets, he hasten'd with some Regiments to the Fort Royal, commanded by Col. Drum-

Drummond, where he found courageous opposition, and lost 300. *Cheshire* men; but at length reducing it with twice the number of the defenders, he put every man of them to the sword, to the number of 1500. Then was there seen the saddest spectacle that humane imagination is capable to conceive, the streets being all strew'd with carcases and cover'd with blood, houses broken open and pillag'd, and the whole Town fill'd with the noise of the insolent Victors and the cries of the poor inhabitants; till having satiated their cruelties & rapacious desires, or rather tired themselves with barbarous executions and inhumanities, they began to think of securing prisoners. The slain were reckon'd about 4000. amongst whom was Duke *Hamilton*, who being taken dyed soon after of his wounds, a very Noble, courageous

geous & loyall person, & worthy of immortal fame. The Prisoners taken in the battle and in the City were about 7000. in which number were the Earls of *Carnwarth*, *Rothes*, *Kelly*, the Lord *Synclaire*, *Sir John Packington*, Maj. Gen. *Montgomery*, Maj. Gen. *Piscotry*, Mr. *Rich. Fincham* his Majesty's Secretary, the General of the Ordnance, the Adjutant General of the Foot, and the Marshal General, besides several Colonels and others inferior Officers, 158. Colours (which together with those taken the year before at *Durbar* were hung up in *Westminster Hall*) the King's Standard, his Collar of Ss, Coach and Horses, with other things of great value.

How many of the Rebels fell in this fight, we have no creditable relation; their own Pamphlets mention onely the losse of Quartermaster Gen. *Mosely*, Capt. *Jones*, and about

about 200. common Souldiers and 300. wounded, among whom was *Charles Howard*, afterwards Captain of *Cromwel's* Life-guard, & another Captain.

This is the truest and most impartial account I can meet with of this remarkable overthrow, which was then lookt upon as the decision of the Cause between King and Commonwealth. But it pleased God that in this great losse *the Fortune of England* was preserved, whose blood was the onely thing wanting to cement the foundations of the new Republick. The manner of his Majesties escape was in a strict sense not miraculous, yet as near a miracle as almost any thing that is barely possible by natural means. Certainly, he that shall deliberately consider the paucity of such of the Nobility as escaped the fury of the fight, and diligence of the pursuers (Of all the
Lords

Lords there , onely the Duke of *Buckingham* & the renowned Lord *Wilmot* getting undiscover'd beyond Sea) the instruments of his Majestie's preservation , such whom indigence or fear might have induc'd to prefer reward or security before faithfulness to a Prince , who in all humane probability was unlikely ever to requite them for their dangerous loyalty ; and the places where his Majesty was concealed, in the midst of his enemies, and in such Counties as had rais'd most men against him in this unfortunate expedition ; He , I say, that shall consider no more but this, will no doubt think himself oblig'd to adore the Divine Providence, which never own'd the Royall Cause more apparently then in this Deliverance, and which at the same time fastned the yolk of slavery upon the necks of these Nations and by an extraordinary goodness preserv'd
the

the Person from destruction , by whom alone their lost Estate was possible to be restor'd. Many are the relations of the manner of his Majesty's escape , and at this day almost as various and different in publisht Histories , as the conjectures and rumours of people were immediately after it. I shall endeavour to offer what the most credible authors and reports have deliver'd concerning this particular, for obtaining the exact knowledge of which I have omitted no industry , that might gratify the curiosity which possesses all the World touching so extraordinary a Providence. It seems not yet convenient to a Noble Person instrumental in it to discover all the circumstances of it, though she is pleas'd to put us in hopes of obtaining that favour from her after some short time. In the mean while, it is desired the Readers would receive at least with alike can-

candour what we have taken pains to find out for their satisfaction, as the relation of theirs who make truth the least of their care, and promiscuously take up any slight reports upon trust.

But to returne to our purpose. His Majesty having kept the field till all was lost, and being pursu'd to the Town-Gates, (while the victorious Enemies were disputing *Sudbury-street* in *Worcester* with the Earle of *Cleveland*, *Sir James Hamilton*, *Col. William Carlis*, and some other resolute and courageous Royalists) he marched out at *St. Martin's Gate* about six a clock in the evening with his main body of Horse, which had not engag'd to any purpose, but yet were in much confusion. When he was come to *Barbon's bridge* about half a mile out of *Worcester*, he made severall stands, and mov'd the Lords and Officers with him
that

that they might rally and try the Fortune of another Fight. But many of the Troupers being observ'd to throw off their Armes and shift for themselves, there was no encouragement to proceed in that course. Whereupon, the chief and onely care was to preserve his Majestic's Person from the hands of those blood-thirsty Sectaries, who accounted it the interest of their Religion and new State to murder him. To which purpose it was resolved to march for *Scotland*, and one *Walker* (formerly Scoutmaster to Col. *Sands*) undertook to be the guide; but being come as farre as *Kniver-heath* not far from *Kederminster*, and day-light being gone, the guide was at a losse which way to go. Upon which his Majesty making a stand, and being almost spent with his extraordinary action in the field, and the wearisomness of his flight,

flight, advis'd with some Lords whether he might march, onely to take some few houres rest. The Earle of *Derby* told his Majesty, that in his flight from *Wiggan* to *Worcester* (after he had been defeated by *Lilburn*) he had met with a very faithfull person and great convenience of concealment at a place called *Boscobel-house*.

This House is seated in *Shropshire*, but upon the confines of *Staffordshire*, and lyes between *Tong-Castle* and *Brewood*; it is a very obscure habitation though a fair building, and standing in a very lovely grove, was therefore so called from *Bosco bello* which in Italian signifies Fair-wood; it belongs to one Mr. *Fitz-Herbert*, though himself liv'd not in it at that time. Thither his Majesty resolved to go, being accompanied by the Duke of *Buckingham*, the Earls of *Derby* and *Lauderdale*, the
Lords

Lords *Talbot* and *Wilmot*, the Colonels *Thomas Blague*, *Edw. Roscarrock*, Mr. *Marmaduke Darcy*, *Rich. Lane*, *Will. Armorer* (since Knighted) *Hugh May*, *Peter Street*, and *Charles Giffard*, who undertook to conduct them by the assistance of *Francis Yates* his servant, and one very expert in the wayes of that Country. Lieut. Gen. *Lesley* with his *Scotch Horse* in the close of the evening took the direct way Northward by *Newport*.

His Majesty and his Train upon deliberation marched through *Sturbridge* a considerable Town in *Staffordshire*; but the better to prevent discovery order was given for all persons to speak onely the *French Language*. *Boscobel* was the place intended; but that the Company might not know so much, his Majesty was conducted by Mr. *Giffard* to a House within half a mile of it, called *White-ladies*

ladies which name it has retain'd ever since it was a Monastery of *Cistercian* Nuns, who were habited in white. Here they arriv'd about 3 a clock in the morning, having rid 26. miles from *Worcester*; and being enter'd into the House, which was kept onely by Servants, a consultation was held how to escape the fury of the blood-thirsty Enemies: the result of which was that all possible care should be taken for his Majesties concealment in that place till he could have a safe opportunity to waite over into *France*, and that his Retinue of loyall Lords and Gentlemen should shift for themselves some other way. In the mean time the Servant that kept *Boscobel* House, called *William Penderel*, was sent for, and a brother of his nam'd *Richard Penderel*, who liv'd near hand at *Hobbal Grange*. Who being come and conjur'd to fidelity, the next course

course taken was to disguise his Majesty's Person. This was done by blacking his face and hands, cutting of his haire, & exchanging his Buffe Coat and gray breeches richly lac't for a Doe-skin doublet and green breeches of *Richard Penderels*. His Majesty as he undress'd himself gave a Spanner string being a gold chain worth 300 l. to a servant of his then ready to depart. His cloaths were buried under ground for a long time after.

And now it behov'd his loyall followers to forsake him, which they did with sad hearts, being more sensible of his Majesty's hard fate, then folicitous what destiny attended themselves only the *L. Wilmot* stay'd & was convey'd by *Jo. Penderel* to *Mr. Whiggreaves*. Time it was for them to depart, for within half an hour after, some of Col. *Aspenhurst's* Troop, who quarter'd at *Cotſal* 3. miles distant, came to the House. But before
I that,

that, *Richard Penderel* had conducted his Majesty out at a backdore into a wood belonging to *Boscobel* house called *Spring Coppice*, in the borders of which *William*, *Humphrey* and *George* (3. of *Richard's* brothers) scouted about to bring intelligence.

The Lords and their company being about 40. Horse (of which number his Majestie's pad-nag was one, and ridden by Mr. *Lane* one of the Bedchamber) took the North road to *Newport*, in hope to have overtaken or met General *Lesly* who was gone that way with the main body of Scotch Horse. But they had not travell'd far before a party of the *Parliamentarians* who were in pursuit of the Lord *Leviſton* (Captain of his Majestie's *Life-guard*) overtook them. The Lords resolutely fac'd about and stopt their speed, some of the pursuers being slain & the rest put to flight. Neverthelesse they
had

had no long contentment in this good successe ; for a little beyond *Newport*, some of *Col. Lilburne's* men met them in the Front , and another party of *Parliamentarians* from *Worcester* fell in upon their Reares; so that themselves and horses being extremely tir'd with the former dayes service and the long and hasty march of the night without the least refreshment or succour , the Noble Earle of *Derby*, and the Earle of *Lauderdail* with *Mr. Giffard* their guide and some others were taken prisoners. The Earle of *Derby* was carried to *Chester* and there tryed by a Iunto of Officers , and sentenced to be beheaded at *Bolton* in *Lancashire*. The Earle of *Lauderdail* was carried to *Windsor*. Castle and there kept prisoner for many yeares. *Mr. Giffard* escap'd not long after from an Inne in *Bunbury* in *Cheshire*. In this conflict the Duke of *Buckingham* with the

Lord *Levison*, Col. *Blague*, Mr. *Darcy*, and Mr. *May* fled into a by-road, and got into *Cheffardine* woods near *Newport*; and there the Duke by the assistance of two honest Labourers put himself into a disguise, and was by one *Nath. Matthews* a Carpenter convey'd to the house of a loyall Gentleman, Mr. *Hawley*, at *Bilstrop* in *Nottinghamshire*, from whence he went to that Lady *Villiers* house at *Brooksby* in *Leicestershire*, and at length after various difficulties got secure to *London*, and pass'd into *France*. The Lord *Levison* and the other 3. Gentlemen having quitted their horses, were conceal'd in little cottages by some loyall Country-men, till they had means to escape beyond the Seas. The Lord *Talbot*, after the routing of the Noble Company, halted towards his Father's house at *Longford* near *Newport*, where he was by providence preserv'd

serv'd in an Out-house from being discover'd by some of the Enemies forces who had pursu'd him thither, & searcht the house four dayes together. These were the severall fates of those noble persons that accompanied his Majesty in his flight; let us now return to the place where we left his sacred person, in the midst of *Spring-Coppice* near *Boscobel* house, on Thursday morning *Sept. 4.* having a wood-bill in his hand, and accompanied only with *Richard Penderel*, three other of the brothers being vigilant to descry the approach of passengers. It hapned to be a very rainy day, so that the Trees afforded not sufficient shelter to keep his Majesty from the inconvenience of the wet, nor was there any thing for him to sit on, till *Richard* stept to a neighbours for a blanket, which serv'd for both uses. He also caus'd the wife of *Francis Tates* (above

mentioned) to provide something for his Majesty to eat , and bring it into the Wood. The fare was such as the place and time afforded; A messe of milk and sugar, some Eggs, and a Dish of Butter. His Majesty being something surpriz'd at the presence of the Woman that brought his Dinner, said to her, *Good woman, Can you be faithful to a distressed Cavalier?* To which she answer'd very heartily, *Yes Sir, I will rather die then discover you:* which words gave his Majesty great satisfaction. When night was come, his Majesty went with these *Corydons* to *Richard's* house at *Hobbal-Grange*, where their old mother was overjoy'd to see his Majesty in safety, & that her sons had the happinesse to be instrumental to it. Further care was forthwith taken to disguise his Majesty, and he took upon him the name of *William Jones*, and pretended to be a Wood-cut.

cutter, newly come thither to work; and this, to the end he might be unsuspected by the rest of the family. The good mother prepar'd his Majesty a cleanly Fricasse of Bacon and Eggs, part of which being eaten by him, and the rest by the Rusticks, his Majesty set forth with *Richard Penderel* on foot for *Wales*, intending to goe that night to the house of an honest Gentleman of *Richard's* acquaintance at *Madely* in *Shropshire*, 5. miles from *Whiteladies*. When they had gone about 2. miles, an accident befell them wherewith they were in some fear. For as they were passing *Evelin Mill*, the Miller, who had then in his custody some considerable Royallists, hearing some persons passeby, came out and demanded who is there? To which no answer was given, but his Majesty and his conductor immediately left the way.

and waded through a Brook, which something asswag'd the galling of his feet; and so they got free of the Miller, who was on the other side no lesse fearfull of them. As they pass'd through the Water his Majesty was in some danger of loosing his guide, had he not been directed by the rustling of his Calve-skin breeches (as he afterwards pleasantly observ'd) it being an extreme dark night. At mid-night they got to Mr. *Woolf's* house, and were by him heartily entertain'd. But the frequent passing of the Enemies forces through that Town, and consequently the likelihood of their coming quarter at that house, made this Gentleman apprehend it unsafe for his Majesty to lodge in it, and therefore he secur'd him and his servant *Richard* in a hay-mow. During their stay Mr. *Woolf* had intelligence brought him by a trusty servant

vant (sent abroad to that end) that all the bridges over *Severne* were kept by guards of the Enemies and all the passage-boats seized on. Whereupon by his advice having spent all that day (*Fryday*) in the barne, and being refresh'd at evening in the house (where M^r *Woolf* also made him a lotion for his hands with boyl'd *Walnuttree-leaves*) he departed about 11. a clock at night for *Boscobel* house, where he arriv'd about 3. on *Saturday* morning. Col. *Charles* (whom we formerly mention'd with honour for sustaining the brunt of the enemies in *Sudbury* street in *Warcester* till his Majesty got out of the Town) was fled into these parts, near which he was borne (namely at *Bromhall* in *Staffordshire* within two miles of *Boscobel*) and having lain in the wood for some time, was come that morning to the said house to get some relief of his

old Acquaintance, *William Penderel*; and by this meanes his Majesty and the Colonel met together there; where congratulations being pass'd, they were entertain'd with rustick fare, as bread & cheese and a Posset, and care taken for refreshing his Majestie's feet which were much surbated and galled with travell. After which his Majesty and the Colonel, conceiving the house lesse safe then the wood, accordingly betook themselves thither, and by the help of the *Corydons* climb'd into a large Oake, the thickness of whose leaves sufficiently conceal'd them from being discern'd by any spectator from below. Upon this Oak, being accommodated with two pillowes & some mean fare, they continued all the day, his Majesty leaning in the Colonel's lap, and taking some slumbring rest, of which he had had little or none the two preceeding nights; and

and in the mean time some of the loyall hearted Country people hover'd near the place, and others went abroad to get intelligence.

During his Ma^{estie}'s journey to Mr. *Woolfs* at *Madely*, the Lord *Wilmot* understanding his departure from *White-ladies* removed from Mr. *Whitgreaves* house at *Mosely* to that of Col. *John Lane* at *Bently* near *VValsal*, South-East from *Mosely* about 4. miles, and intended to make use of an offer made him by M^{rs}. *Jane Lane* the Colonel's Sister to accompany her to *Bristol* in order to his escape beyond Sea, she having by accident procured a *Passé* from a *Parliamentarian* Officer for her self and a man to go thither to see her sister who was then near her time of lying in.

His Majesty and the Colonel descended from the Oak at evening & entred into *Boscobel* house, where
Wil-

William Penderel shew'd his Majesty the secret place in which the Earl of Derby had been conceal'd after his overthrow at *Wigan*, which the King lik'd so well that he resolv'd to make his abode in it, till further opportunity were offer'd for his escape beyond Sea, and not to go more to the Royall Oake, which afforded lesse convenience. *Humphry Penderel* the miller having been that day at *Stefnal* a Town a few miles distant, where he was examin'd by a *Parliamentarian* Colonel (who had heard of the Kings having been at *White-ladies*) and threatned with the penalty of concealing his Majesty's Person, which was death without mercy, and withall inform'd that the *Junto* propounded 1000 *l.* for a reward to any that should discover him. But this true-hearted person was prooffe against all temptations to disloyalty, and related this passage to his Majesty
at

at night. Who having been entertain'd with a dish of chickens took up his lodging upon a Pallet in the secret place. On the *Sunday* morning, his Majesty being desirous of some mutton for that dayes food, & all other wayes being dangerous, Col. *Canelis* with the help of *William Penderel* borrow'd a sheep out of the neighbouring flock, part of which his Majesty and the Col. together cut into collops, and cookt it in a frying pan for their own repast; after which his Majesty spent some part of the day in reading, in a handsome retir'd arbor in the garden, the loyall Brethren in the mean time scouring abroad for intelligence. And whether it were through particular providence or for that it was known that onely some servants kept *Bescobel* house, the same was never searcht all the time of his Majestie's aboad there, but *Whiteladies* upon a credible

ble report his Majesty had been there, often. On the same day his Majesty sent to inform the Lord *Wilmot* where he was, who thereupon desir'd to meet his Majesty that night at a place appointed in a field near Mr. *Whitgreave's* house at *Mosely* which lay in the mid-way, viz. five miles on the one side from *Boscobell*, and five miles on the other from Colonel *Lane's* house at *Bently*. His Majesty being disabled by his former travel on foot, was forc'd to make use of *Humphrey Penderel's* Mill horse (which was suitably accounted) to go thither, leaving behind him the faithfull and renowned Colonel *Carlisle*, who heartily pray'd for his Majestie's preservation. Upon the way his Majesty was attended by the five loyal Brothers, *William, John, Richard, Humphrey* and *George Penderel*, and *Francis Yates*, each of them being arm'd with

a good Bill or Pike staffe , and some with pistols, intending to have us'd the same in case they should have met with a number not too great. Two of them march'd before, and one on each side of his Majestie's horse; the other two at a distance behind: and they took all the by-ways they could. His Majesty being arriv'd at the place appointed, met one Mr. *Huddleston*, an honest Gentleman, there, ready to conduct him into Mr. *Whitgreave's* house. But before he entred he gave *William*, *Humphrey* and *George* the honour to kisse his hand, and thanking them for their fidelity, with promises to reward it, if it pleased God, he dismiss'd them with the horse. My Lord *Wil-*
mot testified extreme joy at the sight of his Majesty, who also embraced him, and after some refreshment given to his Majesty, and civill expressions which he was pleased to use to-
wards

wards the two loyal Gentlemen Mr. *Whitgreave* and Mr. *Huddleston*, he was conducted to the secret place intended for his lodging, which was more secure then commodious for his rest. Before the Lord *Wilmot* betook himself to his repose, he consulted with the two Gentlemen concerning the watching of all avenues, that timely notice might be given of the approach of any souldiers. *And if it should so fall out* (said he) *the Rebels have intelligence of your harbou- ring any of the King's party, and should therefore put you to any torture for confession, Be sure you discover me first; which may perhaps stop their further search, and preserve the King.* Such was the Heroical generosity of that noble Lord, and his superlative affection to his Prince.

On the afternoon of the next day notice was given to Mr. *Whitgreave* that some souldiers were in the
neigh-

neighbourhood with intention to apprehend him for having been with his Majestie at *Worcester*. This was a very surprising alarm. But Mr. *Whitgrave* forthwith secured his *Royall Guest*, who was laid upon Mr. *Huddleston's* bed, and the Lord *Wilmot* in the secret place; and then setting open all the chamber-doors went boldly down to the Souldiers, convincing them by the testimony of his neighbours that he had not been from his own house in the last fortnight. Wherewith the Souldiers being satisfi'd went not up staires at all; and so this imminent danger was escaped. The same night the Lord *Wilmot* repair'd to Col. *Lane's* at *Bently*, in order to his Majestie's going thither also; and during his absence his Majesty spent the next day in conversation with Mr. *Huddleston*, in which he intimated to him that his Councils had been by
some

some treacherous instruments very often discover'd to the Rebels before they were put in execution by his loyall Subjects. At midnight Col. *Lane* came from *Bently* to attend his Majesty thither; whereupon he took leave of Mrs *Whitgreave*, saluting her and giving her thanks for his entertainment: He exprest himself also with much gratitude to Mr. *Whitgreave* and Mr. *Huddleston*, advising them to be very carefull of avoiding the dangers which might ensue to them in case they should be discover'd to have been instrumental in his concealment; and therefore directed them to a Merchant in *London*, to receive moneys for their transportation beyond Sea, if they thought fit. And lastly he promis'd them to remember their civilities and fidelity to him, when ever it should please God to restore him to his Dominions. Such was the goodnesse
of

of this excellent Prince, and his care for the preservation of his preservers. After this, his Majesty gave them his hand to kisse, and they return'd him their zealous prayers and wishes for his safety. His Majesty being safely arriv'd at *Bently* staid there but a short time, but took the opportunity of *M^{rs} Jane Lane's* Passe, and rode before her to *Bristol*, in the quality of her Servant, the Lord *Wilmot* riding for the most part at some distance from them. There his Majesty hop'd to have gotten convenience of transportation into *France*; but his expectations fail'd him: for no Master of a Vessel durst undertake to waite over any single person, unlesse he knew certainly beforehand what he were. So that it being a Town of great resort, his Majesty was enforc'd to depart from it. Whither he went afterwards is not hitherto certainly known: Nor ha's it pleas'd his Majesty

ky or that Lady to discover to any. Severall passages are written to have hapned indangering his discovery both at *Bristol* and elsewhere, but the relators have not the least ground for any of them, and have rather chosen to gratify vulgar readers with impertinent fictions then to confesse their ignorance of that which they did not and cannot yet know. The loyall Lady in all her journeys with his Majesty, comport-ed her self with extraordinary prudence and fidelity, expressing her observance as often as opportunity safely permitted it, and at other times acting her part in the disguise with much caution and discretion. A further relation of his Majestie's progresse in *England*, and the manner of his transportation into *France*, as soon as it comes to our hands from the honorable person who, besides his Majesty, is now alone able to impart it,

it, shall be presented to the world. In the mean time I am glad I can record that he took ship at *Bright-hempston* in *Sassex* about the end of *October* 1651. and having by the Divine Providence escaped the greatest dangers imaginable, in *England*, and some too upon the Sea, landed safely at *Diep* in *Normandy*, where he stay'd not, but went forthwith to *Roan*, and from thence dispatch'd Letters to *Paris* to give notice of his arrival; and in the interim was furnished with accommodations besitting his quality by the Duke of *Lingueville*. Intelligence of his safe arrivall being brought to *Paris*, the Duke of *Orleance* his Majestie's noble and generous Uncle sent his own Coach for him, which met him on the way as far as *Magny*, and coming nearer the City he was met by a company of Nobles and Gentlemen and conducted

to the *Louvre*. Entertainment was there forthwith provided for him, and the Queen his Mother, and the Duke of *Orleance* visited him the same night; The next day also the Duke of *Orleance* and *Mademoiselle* his daughter visited him together with the Dukes of *Beaufort* and *Guise*, Marshal *Turenne*, and other of the great Peers and Nobles of *France*, congratulating his happy deliverance; Nor was it long before the King of *France*, and the Queen Mother did the like, expressing their regret for his Majestie's disasters, and the great interest they took in his safety.

Thus I have drawn into as narrow compasse as I could the particulars and circumstances of his Majestie's preservation, in each of which is remarkable his great patience and goodnesse, and withall his exemplary fortitude in undergoing the
great.

greatest calamities that could befall a Prince on this side death. I have perhaps made too long a story of it for this little Volume, but it was for the Reader's sake, who I hope will be stirr'd up by it to praise the King of kings that deliver'd his Anointed from becoming a prey to those that thirsted after his blood. Certainly not only we, but even the succeeding generations will have cause to blesse the Divine Providence, for that in the midst of his judgements upon these Nations, he was pleased to preserve so precious a mercy for them in store; to the end that having been sufficiently chasten'd with the Scorpions of bloody and tyrannical Governours for their sins against their natural, pious and gracious Sovereign, they might in due time be restor'd to the blessings which they had forfeited under the government of his excellent Son
and

and his posterity to the end of the world.

In the pursuit after this fatal battle were taken besides the Earles of *Derby*, *Lauderdale*, *Cleveland*, and his son the Lord *Wentworth*, the Earle of *Kenmore*, *David Lesley*, Lieutenant General *Middleton*, Major General *Vandruske*, the Lord *Spyne*, Sir *William Fleming*, with many others of quality. Of 3000. horse which fled, 1000. were taken about *Bewdley* in *Staffordshire*, more in other places, partly by souldiers, and partly by rising parties of Countrey people, who barbarously knock'd many stragglers on the head in *Yorkshire*, *Cheshire*, *Lancashire*, *Shropshire* and *Warwickshire*. Major General *Masse*y having with many wounds upon him escaped out of the field, and finding himself unable for flight, yielded himself to the civility and mercy of the Countesse of *Stam-*

Stamford; to which he was induc'd upon the Account of former friendship, he having been Major General under the Earle her husband in the Wars between his late Majesty and the Parliament. How far this Ladie's generosity extended, I know not; but her son the Lord *Grey of Groby* understanding it, forthwith secured him as a Prisoner till his wounds were cured, and then he was sent up to the Parliament, and committed to the Tower, from whence he escaped not long after by an ingenious wile, and went into *France* to his Majesty.

The news of this victory caused great rejoycing amongst the pretended Parliament, who now look't upon their new Commonwealth as founded to Eternity. And to tell the World that they were the Favourites of Heaven, and that God had owned their cause, a day of solemn

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Thankf-

Thanksgiving was appoint'd through-
out the whole Nation. And indeed
though there was nothing miracu-
lous in the victory, the Parliamenta-
rians being six times the number of
the Royallists; yet it may be said to
have been the Work of God, and
they the instruments of his wrath
upon the people of this Land, and
the scourges of God, as *Attila*, that
terrible destroyer of Christendome
was once called *Flagellum Dei*. The
only Miracle was his Majestie's deli-
verance, in which the King of kings
was pleased to remember mercy in
judgement, and give us cause to ad-
ore his Providence both in afflicting
this Nation in this excellent Prince,
and suffering wicked Tyrants, Mur-
derers and Oppressours to prosper;
in the mean time preserving him in
whom our hopes lay, from the
hands of his bloud-thirsty ene-
mies.

And

And as if successe attended impi-
ous Armes, the Garrisons of *Scotland*
fell every day into the power of the
English. *Sterling* Castle was deli-
ver'd to Colonel *Monck* while
Cromwell was at *Worcester*, and in it
great store of warlike Ammunition,
with many of the Royal Ensignes.
Old General *Lesley* Earle of *Leven*,
with several other *Scotch* Lords in-
tending to have levied a party of men
for his Majesty, & to have rais'd the
siege of that strong and loyal Town
Dundee, were surprized by a party of
English horse; shortly after which
the Town was taken by storme, and
the City of *St. Andrews* and *Aber-*
deen, with other Towns, Castles and
Forts surrendred upon summons.

On the 12. of *September* *Cromwel*
entred triumphantly into *London* (ha-
ving sent the poor captive *Scots* thi-
ther before him,) and on the 16. he
went to the Parliament-House, and

had a congratulatory Oration made to him by *Lenthall*, the Speaker, and was the same day feasted by *John Kendrick* Mayor of *London*. From whence he never after went forth upon any expedition.

About the latter end of *October*, the Island of *Iersey* was reduc'd by Colonel *Hain* and General *Blake* from Sea, and the Isle of *Man* was surrender'd to Colonel *Duckenfield* upon Articles by the Countesse of *Derby*, whose renowned, pious and valiant Lord was at *Chester* adjudged to death for engaging with the King at *Worcester*, by a Council of War, after quarter given, and beheaded at *Bolton* in *Lancashire* on the 15. of *October*, with the teares and lamentations of most of the Spectatours. Severall executions were also done upon others by shooting or hanging in divers places for the same cause, as on Sir *Timothy Fetherstone*

Stonehaugh, Captain Bendbow, &c..

They were tryed upon the pretended Act made after the King's coming into *England*, viz. Aug. 12. 1651: prohibiting correspondence with his Majesty or his party under the penalty of High Treason.

His Majesty having upon his arrival at *Paris* been visited & congratulated by the King, Queen & Nobles of *France*, had a Princely Attendance assigned him, and lodgings in the *Louvre*, where he lead a retired life in expectation of some happier opportunity which it might please Providence to present him with for the recovery of his Kingdomes, which he had now small hopes to obtain by the assistance of his own Subjects in either of them; *England* being so strictly overaw'd by the numerous Army kept on foot for that purpose, and *Scotland* and *Ireland* being in a manner wholly sub-

dued by the *English* Armes. Yet in *Scotland* there were still some small Forces up in the North, as the *Marquis* of *Huntley* with about 1500. men, and the Lord *Belcarris*. The *Marquis* of *Argyle* also fortified his houses at *Ander.arran* and *Lorne* & the Castles in *Arran* Island ; and was expected to join with 4000. with the former. Moreover the Clergy were still very high against the *English*. But it seemes the designs of the Noble men were onely to make themselves considerable , that they might treat upon better termes ; For shortly after the *Marquis* of *Huntly* made his peace, the Lord *Belcarris* & divers other Lords came in to the protection of Lieut. Gen. *Monck*, and *Argyle* having made an attempt to summon a Parliament, and shuffled off and on for some moneths at length submitted , and afterwards testified under his hand his agreement

ment to the making of *Scotland* a Commonwealth with *England*, and protested fidelity to it as establish'd without King, or House of Lords, &c. Upon which termes he was left at liberty with assurance to enjoy his Estate. Had these Lords been cordiall to the Royall interest, to which they had so solemnly sworne a little while before, they might easily have maintain'd the Highlands against all opposition, these places being naturally almost inaccessible and invincible.

Notwithstanding this low posture of his Majestie's affairs, he was treated with much honour by the Princes and Nobility in *France*, and *Mada-moiselle de Orleans* daughter to the late Duke of that Title, being a very rich Princessse, worth 60000. *per annum* and Sovereign Dutchesse of *Montpensier*, shew'd great inclinations towards him in relation to marriage.

riage. It is also reported that there was a match designed between his Majestie's Brother the Duke of York and a daughter of the Duke of *Longueville* (a Prince descended from the Royall House of *France*) who was by her mother heire to the rich possessions of the Count of *Soissons*. But the great troubles arising about that time between the King and the Princes of the Blood hinder'd the successe, the Duke of *Orleans* and his Daughter being far ingag'd with the Prince of *Conde* against the King of *France* in a civil War, occasioned by the imperiousness of Cardinal *Mazarine*, who during the King's minority, had by means of his great favour with the Queen ingrossed the whole Government of that Kingdome in a manner into his own hands, usurp'd an inordinate power and all the grand offices, & had committed several enormous miscarriages

riages during the Queen Mother's Regency. The Princes of the Blood and generality of the Nation became so incensed against him hereby, that an Arrest was passed by the Parliament of *Paris* for the banishment of the said Cardinal, who thereupon retired to *Colen*, and all his goods were confiscated. But the Queen having a great inclination to bring him back again into *France*, the Duke of *Orleanse* and *Condé* vehemently opposed it; and when no accommodation could be made, the Prince withdrew his forces (which he commanded for the King's service against the *Spaniard*) to *Stenay*, a strong Garrison, where making great levies he got a considerable power into the field. The Cities also of *Paris* and *Bourdeaux* owned the Prince's cause and quarrel. Whereupon the King rais'd a great Army commanded by Marshal *Tu-*

rein and Count *de Harcourt*. Several encounters pass'd between them, the Illustrious Duke of *York* first serving as a Volunteer, and afterwards commanding a Regiment at the siege of *Estampes*, where he behav'd himself extreme honourably in two conflicts. The Cardinal in the mean time return'd into *France* with 6000. men, and the Princes on the other side invited the Duke of *Lorraine*, to their assistance who had a mercenary Army of 10000. in the service of the King of *Spain*.

His Majesty of *Great Britain* understanding sufficiently the fatal effects of civill combustions, partly out of sincere intentions for the good of *France*, and partly out of the consideration of the advantageouſnesse of its peace to his own affairs, interceded as a Mediatour between the King and the discontented Princes, and his motion was gratefully accepted

pted of by both Parties, and thereupon Deputies were sent severall times by the Princes to represent their grievances; but the King of *France* persisted resolute not to part with the Cardinal, though the King of *England* urg'd him as far as possible, to gratifie his incensed subjects, if not by dismissing him altogether, yet at least by sending him upon some honourable foreign employment. Of all which generous endeavours this noble, prudent and Christian Prince obtain'd no other fruit, but an extreme hatred from *Mazarine*.

At the same time his Majesty employed himself in reconciling the *French* King and his subjects, upon hopes of those endeavours succeeding, he thought fit to deal with the Duke of *Lorraine* to transport his Army into *Ireland*, where some Garri- sons still held out. Which affair was

was so far proceeded in, that Articles were drawn up between the Duke of *Lorrain*, and the Lord *Taafe* on behalf of his Majesty, by which it was agreed amongst other things, *That the Duke should at his own charges land an Army of 10000. for the reducing of Ireland to his Majesty; That he should be invested with the Title of Protector Royal of Ireland, and have four Towns put into his hands for security for his disbursements, with restrictions and cautions. But these Articles never came to be signed, partly because the Duke was conscious of his disability to goe through with the enterprise and defray the charges of it, and partly because he was at the same time dealt with underhand by the King of France to relinquish the Prince's party, and offer'd by him such termes as they were not able to give him. And as ill fortune would have it, the manner*

of Charles the II.

ner of discovery of their agreement made the King of *England* be lookt upon as the Agent and procurer of it. For the French King's Army under *Turenne* marching into *Brie* in view of the *Lorrain* Army, the Duke of *Beaufort* was extreme desirous to encounter with them. To which purpose he went into the field, where he found King *Charles* and the Duke of *York* with the Duke of *Lorrain*, who upon the approach of *Beaufort*, presently withdrew. And then this Duke urging him of *Lorrain* to fight, found an extreme coldnesse in him to the business, and presently after understood his conjunction with the Court-interest. Whereupon the incensed Princes exclaimed against the perfidiousnesse of the Duke of *Lorrain*, and against the *English* Princes as the causes of it. Who though they made it sufficiently apparent that their transactions with the Duke
of

of *Lorraine* were wholly about another affair, yet the indignation of the Princes and people for this collusion so blinded their reasons, that they would not be convinc'd of the innocency of the King and his Brother, but bitterly inveigh'd against them and the Queen Mother, whom they also were resolv'd to believe had been instrumental in the business: so that they were induc'd to withdraw from the *Louvre* to *St. Germain*s, and the Queen to *Chaillot*.

Shortly after the Victory at *Worcester* the pretended Parliament, as I said, executed abundance of the Royall party; and such as were suffer'd to live, had their Estates confiscated and were kept severall yeares after in prison. Their principall Acts pass'd the remainder of this year were, I. *An Act for the increase of shipping and encouragement of Navigation,*

gation, in which it was enacted, I. That no goods or commodities of the growth or manufacture of any places whatsoever should be brought hither but onely in English Ships, and that from the very places of their growth and manufacture onely; Also that no Fish, or Oyle made of Fish, or Whalebone, should be imported, but onely such as should be caught in English Vessels, nor any salted Fish exported in any other save English Bottomes, &c. This Act was apprehended by the Dutch as highly prejudiciall to the Trade which they had driven with extreme advantage above us during our intestine Wars, and proved a great cause of the War that shortly follow'd between this State and the *United Provinces*. II. *An Act to determine the Session of this Parliament on Nov. 3. 1654.* Their dissolution was a point they did not love to think of; but being urg'd by the Army and several Peti-

Petitions for a new Representative, after many debates and delayes they resolv'd to continue their sitting 3. yeares longer ; but they reckon'd without their Host , and receiv'd a quietus about a year and half after from *Cromwel.* III. *An Act of Oblivion*, which was loaden with many heavy provisoes and exceptions. IV. *An Act for incorporating Scotland into one Commonwealth with England*, the Government of which they invested in these Commissioners, *Ol. St. John*, *Sir Henry Vane*, *Maj. Gen. Lambert*, *Maj. Gen. Deane*, *Col. Fenwick*, *Alderman Tichburne*, *Major Salwey*, and *Lieut. Gen. Monck*. As for *Ireland*, the Government of it having been wholly referred to *Cromwel*, he constituted his Son in Law *Ireton* to command in chief there with the Title of Lord Deputy.

In December 1651. arriv'd at Pa-

ris the Gentlewoman, Mrs. Jane Lane, who had been instrumental in his Majestie's deliverance after the overthrow at *Worcester*; of which fearing danger by the discovery of some unfaithful confidents, she went on foot in disguise to *Yarmouth*, and there took ship for *France*. She was conducted into *Paris* with great honour, his Majestie himself with the Queen his mother, and the Dukes of *York* and *Glocester* going out to meet her; upon the first sight, his Majesty took her by the hand and saluted her, with this obliging term, *Welcome my Life*. The *French* Court also regarded her with much respect and honour, together with her Brother Col. Lane who accompanied her thither.

About the Spring of the year 1652. broke out a furious War between the *English* & the *Dutch* Commonwealths, after Embassadors had been
sent

sent to no effect from either. The first Act of Hostility was on the 19. of *May* 1652. After which many bloody Sea-fights pass'd between them both in the *British* Sea, and the *Streights*, with great losse of Ships and men on both sides; but the Dutch were most commonly worst. During this sharp War, his Majesty was as mindfull of his Interests, using all endeavours for an accommodation between the King of *France* and the Princes, as also between the Kings of *France* and *Spain*; in the mean time also sending Embassadours to severall Potentates to desire assistance, as the Lord *Wilmot*, (whom he had created Earle of *Rochester*) to the Imperial Diet at *Ratisbone*, the Lord *Culpeper* to the *Hague*, and the Lord *Wentworth* to the King of *Denmark*. But the Catholick Princes were the colder in gratifying his Majesty, for that he shew'd

no pronesse to embrace their Religion, as the Emperor once expressly signified to him. And indeed such was his Majestie's constancy that no temptations of worldly advantages, no resentment of adversity, nor the sollicitations and arguments of severall grand Catholicks, who endeavour'd to pervert him (as Mr. *Montagu*, *Militiere*, and *Salmonet*) could prevaile any thing upon him. He propounded to the Dutch that if they would furnish him with a squadron of Ships, he would set up his own Flags and command them in person. Some of the Provinces were very inclinable to the motion, but that of *Holland* which stood out against the admitting of the young Prince of *Orange* for Capt. Gen. was also backward to comply with his Majestie's desires or undertake his interest; then which a nothing could have been more honourable to them,

them, nor perhaps more beneficiall. All that he could bring them to , was, that they granted liberty for his Ships to ride in their Ports with their Flags up, as King of *Great Brittain*, &c. The King of *Denmark* professed willingnesse enough to gratify his Majesty ; but his affairs were then in a doubtfull Estate , and depended much upon the successe of the *Dutch*, with whom he had partly engaged.

On *December* 1652. the English *Iunto* , resolved to be rid of his Majestie's younger Brother the Duke of *Glocester* , and referr'd it to the Council of State to consider with what accommodation and to what place to send him. The Council, that they might seem to do something handsomely, ordered him to go into *Holland* , & gave him a Bill for 1000. *l*. to be paid to him upon his arrival; but such was their honesty, that
they

they took care that he should never receive one penny of it. However, he was extremely respected at all the places he came at in the Low Countries, as at *Dunkirk*, *Antwerp*, the *Hague*, *Leyden*, &c. And having been for some time entertain'd by his Royal Sister, where he had the honour of the *Garret* sent him from the King, he departed to the Court of *France*, being attended by Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, and Sir *Richard Greenville*; his Majesty himself, the Duke of *York*, Prince *Rupert*, and others going two leagues out of *Paris* to meet him.

Towards the latter end of the year 1652. his Majestie's hopes began to be something desperate concerning any considerable succour from *France*; for that King instead of uniting with the Prince's his subjects, sent an Embassadour Mr. *de Bordeaux Neuville* to treat a Peace with *England*,

land, to which he was the rather induc'd for that Admiral *Blake* had not long before beaten and destroy'd the *French* ships under the Duke of *Vendosme* that were going to the relief of *Dunkirk*; which defeat occasion'd the loss of that Town to the *Spaniard*. Nor were his hopes likely to prove more successfull in the united Provinces, for they were so weary of the War, that they sent a Letter to *England* to cast about for an accommodation. But before they effected any thing, *Cromwell* finding his ambitious projects ripe, being emboldened with former successes, and backt with a strong Army, on the 20. of *April* 1653. entred the Parliament House, attended with some officers, where he represented to them that their Dissolution was important to the publick good and welfare of the Nation, with many reasons for it; which none daring to oppose,

oppose, the Members departed the House. To justify which Action He and his Council of Officers put forth a Declaration, wherein it was pretended, *The Parliament was over-ruled by a corrupt Party, who intended to perpetuate themselves, deluding the Nation from time to time with hopes of a New Representative*, notwithstanding the Petitions of the Army and severall Counties; That the Cause which God had so greatly blessed languisht in their hands and was in danger to be lost by their negligence of the publick and self-seeking, with many more like crimes. And thus fell this great Idol of the Nation, this *Parliamentum Infame*, which in a dozen yeares time had wrought more mischief to these Kingdomes, then all the preceeding Parliaments had ever done good. After this Cromwel with his Officers took the administration of Affairs into their own

own hands, the Armies in *Scotland* and *Ireland*, and the Fleet assenting to their proceedings. But to gull the people a little longer and render Parliaments more contemptible to them, *Cromwel* upon the 8. of *June* following sent out a summons in his own name, to such persons as he pleas'd to meet at *Westminster* on the 4. of *July*. Who accordingly appearing to the number of six score, he impowred them by a writing under his Hand and Seal to be the Supreme Authority and Governours of the three Nations, and that 40. of them should be a *Quorum* to dispatch business. This *Junto* of Secretaries and Officers of the Army going into the Parliament House, in three dayes time gravely resolved that they would be called *the Parliament of the Common-wealth of England*, and that their Chairman *Mr. Ross* should be called *Speaker*, and that they would

would have a Sergeant at Armes and a Mace. Thus they began ridiculously , and continued in all their Actions for four moneths , in which they voted down the High-Court of Chancery , made a silly Act for Marriages Births and Burials , confirmed the unjust Bill for Sale of the Estate of Sir *John Stowell* Knight of the Bath , ordered Sale of the remainder of the Royall Revenue , made a tax for 6. moneths at 120000 l. *per mensem* , struck fiercely at Tythes , and Universities ; and then being partly weary and partly asham'd of themselves , some of *Oliver's* faction by underhand appointment repaired to *Cromwel* , and resigned their power into his Hands , who at first seeming unwilling and excusing his inability , was prevail'd with by importunity to accept it ; which he did with the Title of Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of *England , Scotland*
L and

and *Ireland*. The rest of the Sectarian Convention who refus'd to break up the Parliament and doe as their fellowes had done, *Cromwel* sent Souldiers to turn them out of the House; which was accordingly done, and the doors lockt against them, *Decemb. 2. 1653.* And upon the 16. of the same moneth, having by the advice of his Officers framed and published an *Instrument of Government* consisting of 42. Articles, he sent for the Commissioners of the Great Seale, the Major and Aldermen of *London* with the Iudges and the Officers of the Army, and was by them solemnly installed in *Westminster-Hall*, taking an Oath to rule according to his Instrument and the Lawes of the Land, though nothing could be more repugnant to the Lawes then that Instrument.

In this last year, notwithstanding the former offer of Accommodation,

tion , severall encounters had been between the Ships of this Nation & those of the United Provinces ; in which the *Dutch* suffer'd much, so that the common people there were in a great consternation. Two of the principal Battels were on the 3. of *June* and the 29. of *July*. In the former the *English* got a remarkable Victory , though with the losse of one of their Generals, *Dean*, by a great shot , taking above 1300. prisoners and 11. Ships of War , besides 6. sunk. In the latter, being the greatest blow the *Dutch* ever received from us , their Admiral *Martin Harper van Trump* one of the most expert and renowned Seamen in the world was slain with a Musket shot , and 2000. men more , 1000. Prisoners taken , and 27. Ships of War sunk and fired. Which losses quite broke the spirits of the *Dutch* , who there-upon began seriously to think of peace.

This Summer also it pleased God to visit his Majesty with a Fever which held him for some time with violence ; so that the *London Pamphlets* publish'd it to be mortal. But the Divine Providence intended better things to this Nation; and about the latter end of *August* recovered him to perfect health. After which he departed from the Court for some time to *Chantilly* not far distant from *Paris*, for better aire, being accompanied with Prince *Rupert*, who after various fortunes at Sea and separation from his brother Prince *Maurice* by a Hericano (who was never after heard off) put in with his Ships at *Nantes* at *Britany*, and resided with his Majesty for a long time at *Paris* in the *Palace-Royall*.

This year the Lord *Hopton*, who had commanded an Army for his late Majesty in the Rebellion of *England*, dyed of a Fever after five dayes sick.

sicknesse, at *Bruges* in *Flanders*; a person of great learning, piety, temperance and valour.

In the beginning of the next year his Majestie's hopes of doing any good upon the United States were absolutely extinguish'd. He had us'd all possible means by the intercessions of his friends to avert them from reconciliation with *England*, and to that purpose was very active, upon the arrival of Monsieur *Boreel* their Embassadour to negotiate a League with *France* to promote the conclusion of it; but they had so deeply tasted of the *English* valour in the Sea war, & were so impatiently desirous of peace and Trade, that all he could gain of them in the end was a Letter of complemental civility. And accordingly, applications being made to the new pretended Protector by two *Dutch* Embassadors, the Lords *Newport* and *Tong-*
L 3 *Stall,*

shall, a Peace was concluded between the two States, the Articles of which were proclaimed in *London*, *April* 26. 1654. Nor were his Majesty's solicitations for a Peace between *France* and *Spain* more successfull, though he prosecuted it with his utmost ardour, as judging it the most important expedient, whereby he might obtain assistance from these two Potent Monarchs; and other Princes also, together with the Pope himself, interpos'd for a Reconciliation. For the politick reasons of Cardinal *Mazarine*, who knew the peace of the Kingdome of *France* depended on his removal out of it, induc'd him to venture the fortune of war, rather then be sacrific'd (though deservedly) to the tranquillity of that Kingdome. And having taken this resolution, he judg'd it also his interest in the next place, to make a sure friend of the new
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Protector of *England*, who being an Usurper too, he conceiv'd would be more willing to join interests. To which purpose, all considerations of Honour, Generosity (yea of affinity & charity) set aside, by the Cardinals means, instructions were sent over to Monsieur de *Bordeaux Neufville* (who had layen here a long time before, but had done little by reason of the unsettledness of the Government) to treat a League and Confederacy with the pretended Protector. Whether the Cardinal had any particular malice towards the King of *England* (as some affirme) I cannot determine; but this has been apparent in all his actions. That he will not stick to promote his own ambitious interest by the ruine of that or any other whatsoever, being a greater Politician then to stickle at such rules as the sense of Honour, goodnesse, or ju-

stice it self may lay in the way of his proceedings. This his Majesty sufficiently understood, and foresaw that by naturall consequence the Union of the English *Mahomet* and this Ecclesiastical Politician would produce his Exclusion out of *France*. Wherefore, he thought it more honorable to depart that Kingdome voluntarily, then stay till he were dismiss'd by Articles; and accordingly on the 1. *July* 1654. took leave of the King and Queen of *France*, and of his Royall Mother, with the French Grandees, from whom he receiv'd such dissembling language as that ceremonious Nation uses on all occasions. He went first to *Chatillon* a House belonging to the Prince of *Conde*, being accompanied with his Illustrious Brother the Duke of *York* and his Cousins the Princes Palatines *Rupert* and *Edward*; having made some stay here, his Royall Brother
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returned to *Paris*, and from thence to the Army with the Title of Lieutenant General under Marshall de *Turenne*, who then lay with his Forces besieging the Archduke and the Prince of *Conde* with a numerous Spanish Army in their Trenches before *Arras*. Prince *Rupert* also here kist his Majestie's Hand and departed to *Heydelberg* to his Brother's Court, and from thence to that of the Emperour, and Prince *Edward* went to *Bourbon*. From *Chatillon* about the latter end of the same moneth his Majesty went to *Cambray*, and from thence passing through *Liege* to the *Spaw*.

In the mean time *Cromwel* playes the Tyrant in *England* at a high rate, and on *Feb. 18.* he sent 11. persons of quality to the Tower, for a conspiracy against his Highnesse's person; but having no evidence against them, besides his own guilty feares.

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(which

which suggested to him that most men wanted the power rather than the will to dispatch him out of his Usurped dignity) they were soon after set at liberty. The first Act of himself and Council was to repeal the engagement made by the *Infamous* Parliament against a *Single Person*; which was done by an Ordinance *Jan. 19.* next the style of publick writings was alter'd from *The Keepers, &c.* to *Oliver Lord Protector, &c.* Then an Ordinance was pass'd by his Highness and Council, declaring Offences of Treason; which were made of three sorts, 1. *Attempting anything against Cromwel and his Government.* 2. *Corresponding with, or promoting the right of his Majesty.* 3. *Declaring that any Parliament was at present in being or had any continuance, &c.* So we see it came about that owning of the *Commonwealth* interest as they call'd it

it was now as great an offence as malignancy. Moreover to gratify Sectaries he made an Ordinance to eject scandalous Ministers, by which many worthy Ministers were deprived of their livings in several Counties; and to shew the more exquisite malice, such ejected were not to be admitted ever after to any Ecclesiastical preferment, nor to teach schol or officiate as Chaplains in the Houses of persons of quality. He also set up an Inquisition for approbation of Ministers, by whom ignorant Fanaticks were prefer'd before grave and learned Divines, the Commission running in termes that they should have especiall regard to such as were indue'd with *gifts and graces*: though they wanted humane learning. Of these Inquisitors were *Rob. Tichburne, Hu. Peters, Ph. Nye, Th. Goodwin, St. Marshal, Pet. Sterry, Syd. Simpson*, and others of the like.

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stamp. And that he might according to the course of Tyrants establish his power in blood, by deterring all that lov'd their Country from attempting its deliverance, and removing some of those he judg'd loyall and valiant enough to do it, upon the 20. of *May* a Plot was discover'd, for which severall persons of quality were apprehended, as *Sir Gilbert Gerrard* and *Col. John Gerrard*, *Humphry Bagaley* (Secretary to the late Earle of *Derby*) *Sidney Fotherby*, *Somerfet Fox Esq^r*, *Mr. Tuder* an Apothecary and *Mr. Kewel* a Schoolmaster; there were also committed to the Tower the Earle of *Oxford*, *Maj. Baily*, *Col. Ashburnham*, and amongst others *Sir Richard Willis*. For the Tryall of these Conspirators a High Court of Justice was erected by an Ordinance of *Cromwel's*, June 13 of which *John Lisle* was President, and *Steel*, *Tichburne*, *Sir Will. Roberts*, and some
twenty.

twenty more (right qualifi'd for any murder it pleas'd the Protector to put them upon) Commissioners. Of the Gentlemen committed onely three were tryed, *June 30.* Mr. Gerard, Mr. Vowel, and Mr. Fox, who were adjudged within the new-made Ordinance, and guilty of Treason, though by no Law of the Land, *Glyn, Prideaux* and *Ellis* like good Instruments of a Tyrant, urging the Protectors will for Law. Yet the latter of them was repriev'd, and the two former suffer'd death with much resolution and courage, Mr. Gerard being beheaded on Tower-Hill and Mr. Vowell hanged at *Charing Crosse, July 10.*

Scotland was not yet so absolutely subdued, but that there appear'd some still in Armes for his Majesty in the *Highlands*; The Earles of *Seaforth*, *Athol*, *Glencarne*, *Kinnoole*, the young Marquis of *Montrosse*, the
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Lord *Lorne*, Sir *Arthur Forbes*, and Sir *Mungo Murrey* having gather'd together several parties of Horse and Foot, and making severall irruptions upon the *English* in the Low-lands: whereby they much molested them in their new possessions, sometimes taking considerable booty, and sometimes being worsted and flying into the Mountains where the pursuers could not follow them. And thus they continued in expectation of greater Levies and the arrivall of Lieut. Gen. *Middleton* with supplies out of the *Low-Countrys*. But in the mean time the *English* met with the most considerable party under the Earle of *Glencarn* and defeated them, the Earle himself hardly escaping; the like successe also befell severall other parties; so that they could not unite into one Body as they intended. At length Lieut. Gen. *Middleton* arrived out of *Holland*, with the expected

pected provisions of War, and a Commission to be General, and *Monroe* to be his Lieut. Gen. This disposing of Commands so incensed *Glencarne* who had been imploying his utmost interest in levying Forces, which he now saw must be commanded by others, that instead of conspiring together against the common Enemy, these great Officers quarrell'd among themselves; *Glencarne* was contented to be Lieut. Gen. but *Monroe* would not agree to it; whereupon a single combate ensued between them, in which the Earle having wounded and disarmed his Adversary deserted the service with about 500. Gentlemen and made composition with the Governour of *Dunbarton* to live peaceably at home. The same course was also taken by others by degrees. However *Middleton* stood out still with much resolution, till at length being
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set upon a great disadvantage by Gen. *Monck* and Col. *Morgan* first in *Arguyl* and then at *Loughary* about the midst of *July*, he was wholly overthrown. Nevertheless he continued in the High lands with some Foot for some time after, till he saw most of the Nobility were either taken or made their submissions, and then he retir'd back into *Holland*. The Kirk of *Scotland* was likewise concern'd in the publick desolation, being broken up by Col. *Morgan*, and the petulant Ministry reduc'd to subjection.

As for *Ireland*, it was by the *English* Armes brought to such a condition, as there was no fear of disturbance for the future; onely some few *Tories* that kept themselves in inaccessible places, sometimes made irruptions to steal and plunder. The Parliament also erected a High-Court of Iustice there, of which *Cook*
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(so infamous for being an instrument in the murder of his late Majesty) was President. By whose sentence a great number of the Natives (and amongst them many of the ancient *Irish* Nobility) were sentenced and executed for being found guilty of the bloody Massacre committed upon the Protestants in the beginning of the Rebellion, and about 14000. were sold to the King of *Spain*, and many transported into other foreign parts, who had rendered themselves upon Proclamation: the rest were all driven into the Province of *Cormaught*, and there circumscribed to inhabit. The other three Provinces, *Ulster*, *Munster* and *Leinster* were allotted to the *English*, and all forfeited Lands divided among such Adventurers as had advanced money towards the management of the *Irish* affairs, and the souldiers for satisfaction of their
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Arrears. In the room of Deputy *Ireton* who had succeeded *Cromwell* in the chief Command of that Nation, and died of the pestilence at *Limerick*, *Cromwell* constituted Lieutenant General *Fleetwood* who was become his son in-law by the marriage of his eldest daughter, *Bridget*, *Ireton's* Widow.

His Majesty having for some moneths resided at the *Spaw*, where he enjoy'd the company of his Royall Sister the Princessse of *Orange*, and having recived 200000. Rixdollers from the Emperour and the Imperiall Colledge (who also enacted that no scandalous book publish'd against him should be bought or sold in *Germany* under pain of death) departed from thence to *Collen*, where he arriv'd with his Royall Sister on the sixt of *October*, the great Guns being discharged at their entrance, and the Deputies of the

the City going forth to meet them in solemn manner and conducting them to the Palace provided for them by the chief Magistrates. On the 28. of the same moneth the said Magistrates exprest their affections to his Majesty by entertaining him and the Princeesse with a sumptuous collation; who also the next day upon invitation went to *Dussel-dorp*. where the Duke of *Newburgh* treated them with all possible magnificence for some dayes. After which the Princeesse Royall took her journey towards *Holland*, and his Majesty having accompanied her on the way as far as *Bedinguen* return'd to *Col-len*.

At his Majestie's departure out of *France*, he was over-intreated by the Queen his Mother to permit the Duke of *Glocester* to stay with her at the Palace Royall but with condition that no attempt should be made upon

upon him to pervert him from his Religion. But shortly after (by the instigation of the French Court and some English Catholicks about her) the Queen was willing he should be solicited to turn Catholick, and for that purpose permitted him to be carried to *Pontoise*, where some bad Instruments taking advantage of Mr. *Lovell* his Tutor's absence at *Paris*, set upon him with all motives they could invent both spirituall and temporall to incline him to the Popish Religion; But the former kind of Arguments were retell'd by his Highn^s with greater reason & resolution then could probably have been expected from a person of his years; and for the temptations of worldly advancement, he rejected them with contempt, and the danger of his Majestie's displeasure; urging withall the Queen's promise to the King before his departure in this very particular,

cular , and complaining of this unworthy advantage taken against him in the absence of his Tutor , who was fittest to judge of their proposals. Wherefore he was removed to *Paris* , to the House of Mr. *Crofts*, from thence to *Pontoise* again & the instruction of Mr. *Valter Montagu* Abbot of *Nanteuil* , and his former Tutor dismiss'd. Of these attempts some cordial Protestants certifi'd his Majesty at *Colen* with all possible speed, who resented them so highly, that being ready to goe to dinner, when the intelligence was brought him , he would not think of eating till he had dispatcht Letters away to *Paris*. In the mean time his Highness was restlessly importun'd with perswasions to return to the *True, Ancient, Apostolical, Roman Church*, to embrace the Religion wherein most of his Ancestours liv'd and di'd, and most of the *Christian* world, to-ge-

gether with the King of *France*, his Royal Mother, and her Alliance profess'd; which were also back't with the allurements of the greatest Church-Dignities and Revenues, and the Honours which that whole Nation would be ready to pay his Highness, &c. All which he declin'd with very ingenious answers; and shortly after a Gentleman went to his Highness with a Letter from his Majesty, and was admitted to his presence; but not being able to deliver the same privately, he caus'd it to be deliver'd by another hand. In that Letter his Majesty minded him of the strict command he had lay'd upon him at his departure out of *France*, of the horrid injury offer'd to his conscience, honour, and family, of the vanity of his perswaders motives, and the falseness and emptiness of their promises; He also declar'd to him the more eligibleness of
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of any degree of suffering, and urg'd to him the fidelity of God's promises, whose love he must expect to loose, together with that of himself a most affectionate Brother, in case he yielded to the inveiglements of his Temptours. Moreover, he desir'd him to reflect on their dead Father's last charge, solemnly given him the day before his Glorification, with the entail of his blessing annexed. And in conclusion, added, That if he either chang'd his Religion, or put himself into the *Iesuites* Colledge, he had the last Letter from him, and must never look to see *England* or his face again: And that if (which God forbid) their businesse miscarried for ever, the whole ruining of their Family, and all the Nations too, must be laid with all the consequent mischiefs at his doore as the chief cause of it. Assoon as his Highnesse had read this admo-

admonitory Letter, he transcrib'd a copy of it, and sent it to the Queen, desiring her permission to come to *Paris*, both in regard of these commands of the King and of his Brother the Duke of *York*'s approaching return from the Army. To which her Majesty answer'd, that she should not cease wishing his eternall good by his conversion, to which nevertheless she would not force him, but wish'd him to hearken to what Mr. *Montagu* should further deliver to him, which was that he would be willing to go to the *Iesuites* Colledge, where he should have extreme freedom in every thing. But all would not prevail upon his resolution; However he return'd to *Paris*, whereabout the 18. of *November* the Marquis of *Ormond* arriv'd from *Germany* with Letters and new Instructions having taken a long and dangerous voyage by reason (the late-

lately dissolved French Army had betaken themselves to the robbing of all passengers.) Before the intent of his journey was known the Queen of *France* and the *Cardinal* very closely press'd him, and so did her Majesty of *England* both her self apart, and by Mr. *Montagu*. Which importunities proving fruitlesse, some severities were proceeded to, which occasion'd his Highnesse to leave the Palace Royal and go to the House of the Lord *Hatton's* in the *Fauxbourgs*, where the former solicitations were renew'd, but with as little successe. After which the Duke desir'd the favour to see the Q. his Mother before his departure, but was refus'd; which denial having receiv'd with much grief, he went away with my Lord of *Ormond* to *Collen* where his Majestie resided.

But let us look back a little upon the actions of the Usurper of his

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Majestie's Dominions. *Cromwel's* new Instrument enjoin'd the summoning of Parliament every three years , and accordingly he sent out his new fashioned writs and new contriv'd Indentures for the returning of Members, and that after a new way, ten or a dozen for most Counties , one or two for Cities and Burroughs, and many of these left wholly out. The reason of which was because it was easier to pack elections in Counties by the interest of Army-Officers and other Creatures , then in Borroughs. They assembled at *Westminster* on the 3. of *Septemb.* 1654. *Cromwel* meeting them in the Painted Chamber, made a Speech, in which he indevor'd to shew the necessity of his taking the Government upon him , and recounted the excellencies of it, telling them also *that he did not designe to be a Lord over them , but their Fellow-Servant*

Servant to the publick. After which they chose *Leisball* for their Speaker, and betook themselves to their business. The first debate was, *Whether the Legislative Power should be in a single Person and a Parliament.* It was bandied with some heat, till *Cromwel* thinking them too busy in making a Question of that which he would have believ'd sufficiently determin'd by his Instrument, resolv'd to make them sensible of it; wherefore sending for them into the Painted Chamber about 3. dayes after their first assembling, he check'd them severely, telling them, 1. *That the Fundamentals in the Government* (viz. such as were constituted by the Instrument) *could not be altered; whereof that which they debated was one; and 2. that the Militia was not to be trusted in any one hand or power, but so, that the Parliament ought to have a check upon the Protector, and*

He upon Them. 3. That Parliaments should not be perpetuall nor alwaies sitting. 4. That there ought to be Liberty of Conscience in Religion. Other things in the Government were examinable and alierable according to the State of Affairs. For his own part, his heart was even overwhelm'd with grief, to see any of them should go about to overthrow what was settled, (viz. by his Instrument) contrary to their trust received from the people. After this Preface he deliver'd them a Paper (called a Recognition) to be subscribed by such as intended to sit; in which they were to engage to be faithfull to the Lord Protector and the Commonwealth, and not to propose or give consent to alter the Government, as it was settled in one Person and a Parliament. Such as refus'd to subscribe were excluded from sitting, the rest repair'd again to the House; where they took the Instrument in hand

hand again, and prepar'd a Bill for the settling of the Government & some others which they intended to present to the Protector to be sign'd together. But he having information given him all the way of their proceedings by some false Members, suffer'd them to spend 5. months allotted them by the Instrument to sit without interruption, and the very next day after went to the Painted Chamber, where upbraiding them with *Parricide in not owning the Authority that called them thither, and endeavouring to subvert the Government owned by God, as being the dispensation of his Providence after 12. years VVar,* he dissolv'd this Parliament (as he had done two before) *Jan. 23. 1654.* Within two dayes after their Dissolution a Plot was discover'd, which *Cromwel* said was occasioned, if not hatched by the *Parliament* it self. Sir *Henry Littleton*, high Sheriff of *Wor-*
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cestershire and Sir *Iohn Packington* of the same County were committed to the Tower thereupon; and severall persons more in the North and Northwest Counties of *England*, where the design was laid for an Insurrection. *Shrewsbury* and *Chirk-Castle* were to have been surpris'd, but it was prevented; the discovery of the whole Conspiracy having been made to *Cromwel* by some secret insinuating Agents of his from the first birth of it, till it was mature to break out. At *Shrewsbury* the Lord *Newport*, & Sir *Thomas Harris*, who were the chief there, was taken prisoners and sent up to *London*. Nevertheless others were not deterr'd from attempting something for the deliverance of their Native Country from Bondage; for upon the 11. of *March* 1654. a body of 200. consisting most of Gentlemen surpris'd *Salisbury* and took away all the Hor-
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ses. From whence in expectation of greater Forces to join with them, they marched towards *Cornwall*; but they were overtaken by one Capt. *Crook* with a party of Sectarian Horse, at *Southmolton* in *Devonshire*, & after four houres sharp conflict defeated. Sir *Ioseph Wagstaffe* the chief of this loyall party escaped; the three other most eminent Leaders, Col. *John Penruddock*, Capt *Hugh Groves*, and Capt. *Jones* were taken with 50. others. Another rising was also in *Yorkshire* at *Hexham Moore*; but of 4000. which should have met, not above 200. appearing, they were soon dispers'd by the Forces of Col. *Lilburne*, Sir *Henry Slingsby* the chief taken, and Sir *Rich. Maleverer* with much difficulty escaping. At the same time likewise another attempt was made to rise at *Sherwood Forrest* in *Nottinghamshire*; but the Gentry that design'd it were suppress'd by Col.

Hacker. Nor were the Levellers lesse pleas'd with the Tyrannical Usurpation of *Cromwel*, though their designs were not upon the account of loyalty : For Maj. Gen *Harrison*, Mr. *Carew*, *Rich. Courtney*, and Maj. *Wildman* were discover'd to have fram'd a Plot against him, and secured : These latter sort of Conspirators were in favour of the Sectaries and in consideration of former assistance in Rebellion and the murder of his late Majesty, more gently proceeded with; for *Harrison* was shortly after committed to *Portland Castle*, *Carew* to *St. Maur's in Cornwall*, and *Courtney* to *Carisbrook Castle in Wight Island* ; But on *March 31. 1655.* a Commission was issued forth for tryall of the Gentlemen in the West, to Serjeant *Thorp, Glyn, & Steel*; And another for tryall of them in the North to Serjeant *Newdigate, Nicolas, Windham, Hatton* ; but of these

these persons Serjeant *Newdigate* and *Thorp* conscientiously refusing to try any man for treason upon *Cromwel's* Declaration, as Law, had writs of ease given them.

But the Protector wanted not instruments in the *West* to execute his bloody pleasure: for at *Salisbury*, *John Lisle*, one of his Princes Murderers sentenced Col. *Penruddock* and Capt. *Grove* to the block, and at *Exceter* seven other persons to the Gallows. And now *Cromwel* resolv'd to rule onely by the sword, seeing the people so hated his Tyranny; to which purpose he constituted eleven of his Officers to preside over all the Counties of *England* with the Titles of Major Generals, allotting four or five Counties as Provinces to each, with sufficient authority not only in Military affairs, but also in Civil and Ecclesiastical. For the support of these *Bashawes* he made an Ordi-

nance that all Cavaliers or Gentlemen of the late Kings party, should (notwithstanding the late Parliaments Act of Oblivion, their former compositions, and their peaceable demeanor since) pay the tenth part of their yearly revenue; which was accordingly severely exacted by the Major Generals. He also, the better to provide against future Insurrections, set up Auxiliaries in every County, consisting of Horse and Foot, which were to be ready upon all occasions within an hours warning; their pay was 8 l. *per annum* to a Horseman & 3 l. to a Footman; And finally that he might disenable all loyal persons from attempting any thing for their Countries Liberty, he put forth an Ordinance to seise all sorts of Armes found in the Houses of those he called Malignants. Such were the courses he took to secure himself at home.

About

About the beginning of the year 1655. a great Fleet was sent against the King of *Spain's* Territories in *America*. The designe was kept secret till it came to be executed upon the place, nor did he declare war against that King till afterwards, though the Marquesse of *Leyda* Governour of *Dunkirk* came over as Extraordinary Embassadour to know his intentions. Many of such as had been imprisoned for the late insurrections had been barbarously sold to foreign plantations: some that were left, and several indigent people were by force sent in this service together with divers Regiments of old souldiers; *Venables* commanding the Land-forces, and *Pen* being General at Sea. But it pleased God to check the Tyrants insolence by a considerable losse in the very first enterprize, which was undertaken so unjustly and against the faith of Nations (though the
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propagation of Religion was pretended, and other slight reasons for it;) an Army consisting of 9700. Foot, besides a party of Horse by the Generals indiscretion was landed in the Island *Hispaniola* at a place ten leagues from the chief Town *Sto. Domingo*, whereby being ready to perish miserably with thirst and the excessive heat of the Sands through which they marcht, they were shamefully routed by no greater a party then 70. *Spaniards* and *Nigroes*, 1200. were kill'd in the conflict and the pursuit, the rest escaped by flight. An incredible thing, had not the faintnesse and weaknesse of the *English* render'd it rather an execution then a fight. The remainder of this overthrow having afterwards endur'd extreme hardship for want of provision, even to the eating of their horses, seis'd upon another Island called *Jamaica*, which though a barren
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ren place , wanteth not some considerable advantages. But for the dishonour occasion'd to our Nation by this unfortunate expedition , amends was in part made by General *Blake* , who entring *Porto Ferino* at *Tunis* with his Fleet , fir'd nine *Turkish* Ships in it, notwithstanding the strong fortifications upon the shore, and came off with the losse of onely 25. men.

Whilst affairs were thus strangely managed in *England* by the violent Protector, his Majesty resided at *Colen*, entertaining himself with such studies as best became a Christian in his own and his Countries calamities, such exercises as were besitting a Prince , and such company as his affection made most pleasing to him, namely, that of his brother the Duke of *Glocester*, and the Princessse Royal of *Orange*. The Duke of *York* continued still in *France* , having onely made

made a journey of no long stay to the *French* Leaguer before *Pavia*. His Majesty to divert himself from the resentment of his unsuccessful affairs, made a progresse of state and pleasure from *Colen* to *Frankfort*. Fair, being accompanied with the Duke and the Princessse, & attended on by the Lord Marques of *Ormond*, the Earle of *Norwich*, the Lord *Newburgh*, the Lady *Stanhope*, and several other persons of Honour; They went by Coach a little beyond *Ronne* the Arch-bishop of *Colen's* Electoral Seat, where they enter'd into a *Gondelo* or Pleasure boat; through every Princes Territories that they past, the chief Officers of State were sent to complement them, and the great Guns saluted them from all their Towns and Castles. More especially the Prince Elector of *Mentz* sent his grand Marshall to invite them to his Court; but his Majesty

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 acknowledgements to the Elector,
 and to promise him to accept of his
 civility as he came back from *Franc-*
fort. His Majesty being arrived there
 had intelligence that *Christina*
 Queen of *Sweden* (who had volun-
 tarily resigned her Crown on *Jan.*
17. 1654. to her Cousin *Carolus Gu-*
stavus, and had for the most part
 since continued at *Bruxels*) intend-
 ed to passe that way to *Italy*; where-
 upon he sent one of his Lords to her
 to signify his desire to wait upon her
 Majestie at what place she should be
 pleased to nominate. To which
 message she return'd thanks for the
 honour his Majesty intended her,
 and appointed *Contingstein*, a village
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jeſty ſent the Lord *Newburgh* back with the grand Marſhall to return his acknowledgements to the Elector, and to promiſe him to accept of his civility as he came back from *Francfort*. His Maſteſty being arrived there had intelligence that *Chriſtina* Queen of *Sweden* (who had voluntarily reſigned her Crown on Jan. 17. 1654. to her Couſin *Carolus Guſtavus*, and had for the moſt part ſince continued at *Bruxels*.) intended to paſſe that way to *Italy*; whereupon he ſent one of his Lords to her to ſignify his deſire to wait upon her Maſteſtie at what place ſhe ſhould be pleaſed to nominate. To which meſſage ſhe return'd thanks for the honour his Maſteſty intended her, and appointed *Contingſtein*, a village near *Francfurt* in the Electorate of *Menz*. for the place of Interview. His Maſteſty was accordingly received there by her with many expreſſions

sions of respect, and had private conference with her alone for almost an hour; after which the Duke of *Glocester* was admitted to her presence alone, and then the Prince Elector *Palatine*, and his Brother Prince *Rupert*, who came thither on purpose, and the rest of the great Lords that attended the King. The Elector *Palatine* invited his Majesty to his Court, but his Majesty waved his civility; and after many complements between these Princes, his Majesty returned to *Frankfurt*, the Prince Elector and his Brother to *Heidleberg*, and the Queen of *Sweden* proceeded without stay in her journey to *Italy*. At his Majesty's returning from *Frankfurt* which was by water, the Elector of *Mentz* having provided magnificent entertainment for his reception, came in person a great part of the way to meet him, and conducted him to one of his Palaces,

Palaces , where he treated him for four dayes in a most sumptuous and splendid manner; after which himself accompanied him for some part of the way to *Collen*; in which City four Burgomasters were appointed by the Magistrate to wait upon his Majesty and the Princes, and to testify the satisfaction they took in their return thither. And thus we see what respect his Majesty found in a foreign Country and in his lowest fortune , the greatnesse of his vertues causing him to be every where extremely valued, not for what he enjoy'd but for what he truly deserv'd. Shortly after the Princeesse Royal took leave of his Majesty and the Duke of *Glocester* , and departed for *Holland*.

In the mean time in *England Cromwel's* feares or his malice were restlesse; for about *June* most of the Gentry in all parts of the Nation
were

were clapt up by his Major Generals; nor would any security be taken for them, but they were kept in Inns & such like places with guards of Souldiers at an excessive charge and inconvenience for many months together; Among others the Lord *Falkland*, Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham* and the Lord *Newport* were committed to the Tower upon suspicion of Treason; but it seems, it was rather his own guilt that induc'd him to do thus then any reasonable cause; which could he have found, no question they had paid their lives for his security.

There having been this year a barbarous Massacre committed upon the Protestants of the Valleys of *Piedmont* by the Souldiers of *Charles Emanuel* Duke of *Savoy*, the Protector testifi'd his resentment of it by appointing a solemn day of Humiliation to be observ'd, and a large contribution

tribution to be gathered throughout the Nation for their relief. The collections came to a vast sum ; but how well they were pay'd to those for whom they were pretended, is not unknown to them that were employ'd about this affair into *Savoy*.

Also toward the latter end of this year Proposals were made to *Cromwel* by *Manasseh Ben-Israel* a Jew in behalf of the Jewish Nation for their free admission to trade and exercise of their Religion in *England*. They had been excluded for the space of almost 400. hundred years; yet *Cromwel* out of a sense of charity for their conversion and in consideration of 200000 l. was willing to listen to their reentertainment. But the designe was so vehemently oppos'd by the Divines and Merchants that it took no effect.

In the beginning of the next year

1656.

1656. the King of *Spain* being sensible of *Cromwel's* perfidioulness, solemnly proclaimed Warre against *England*. Whereupon *Cromwel* enter'd into a strict league both Offensive and Defensive with the King of *France*, who was then at Wars with the King of *Spain* both in *Flanders*, *Italy* and *Catalonia*. One of the chief Articles of the Confederacy was, that his Majesty with the Dukes of *York* and *Glocester* and all his Relations and Adherents (saving the Queen Mother) should be excluded out of *France*. In which it is to be wondred with what sence of honour that King could consent to so base and ignoble a proposall, made by one that had murdered his Uncle and Usurped his Dominions, and withall to banish such Princes as were so near of Blood to him, and came to him for succour and relief. But self-interest (not self-preservation for what could

could *France* fear from *Cromwel*, when he was engag'd with the King of *Spain*, and jealous every day of the people he tyrannis'd over?) self-interest, I say, if not of the King of *France*, at least of Cardinal *Mazarine* the Queen's creature, prevail'd above all respects of honour, justice, and the sense of humane calamities. The King wisely withdrew before, and the Duke of *Glocester* not long after; there remain'd onely the Duke of *York*, who during his service in the French Army had acquir'd to himself a great renowne and a high command. Neverthelesse he had some small time respited for his stay, in which he was visited, and honourably treated by Marshal *Turenne* (who infinitely esteem'd and lov'd him for his extraordinary courage & skill in Martial affairs) & others of the French Lords as also by the Duke of *Modena* (who was then occasionally
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in that Kingdome.) And shortly after he took his leave of the King of *France*, the Queen his Mother and the rest of the Court, and departed into *Flanders*. In the mean time the King of *Spain* partly out of a noble generosity, and partly out of consideration that having engag'd in a Warre against *Cromwel*, his Majestie's interest might be of some advantage to him, caused *Don Iohn* of *Austria* his Governour in the *Low-Countries* to invite his Majesty into his Territories, which invitation was made by the Count of *Fuensaldagne*, a great Commander, and lately Governour of *Milan*. His Majesty accepted of the offer, and departed from *Colen* to *Bruges* in *Flanders*, where he was received with great expressions of honour and respect. Thither also the Duke of *York* went to his Majesty, having taken *Bruxels* in his way, and been

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extremely caress'd by *Don John* and his Court, who expressed much joy in having the most valiant Prince of his age in the world come to assist personally in the war.

In *England Cromwel* being much necessitated for money, and withall impatient to tarry longer for a confirmation by the people (which although he could not obtain of the preceeding Parliament he hoped he might gain of another) attempted once more to call a new Representative. But remembering the carriage of some in the former, he gave private intimation to certain persons in several Counties to obstruct (if possible) their Election again in the ensuing Session, and writ Letters to some Sheriffs to the same purpose. Nevertheless though they were chosen after the new mode, 10. in a County and 1. in a Burrough, the successe of these practises did not so well

well please him, but that when they assembled (*Sept.* 17. 1636.) above seven score of the returned Members were excepted against by the Protector; and when they addressed to the rest that were admitted into House to have their Elections examin'd, the Parliament unworthily betray'd their own Priviledges, and referr'd them to *Cromwel's* Council. Sir *Thom. Widdrington* was chosen Speaker. After this beginning, they proceeded to make the following Acts. I. *An Act for disannulling his Majestie's Title to the Government of the three Nations*, pass'd nemine contradicente. II. *An Act making it Treason for any to attempt compasse, or imagine the Protector's death; and appointing such Offenders to be tryed not by a Jury of 12. sufficient men, but by a High Court of Justice.* This Act was occasion'd by a Plot of one *Syndercomb*, who had designed to murder
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ther the Protector, and was therefore try'd at the King's Bench Bar, (his accuser being one *Toope* of *Cromwel's* Life-guard) and condemned to be hanged drawn and quarter'd. But the night preceeding the day appointed for his execution; he was poysoned either by himself or some others. III. *An Act for an Assessement for 60000. l. per menssem for 3. years.* IV. *An Act for continuing Tonnage and Poundage.* V. *An Act for preventing multiplicity of Buildings in and about the Suburbs of London.* This Act concerned not onely such as were to be built hereafter, but also those that had been reared upon new Foundations for almost 40. years before; for which the owners were fined one year's Rent to *Cromwel*: and it extended to buildings ten miles round about London. VI. *An Act for Excise of Merchandise imported; Hobby-*
N horses,

horses, Children's Rattles, and old shirts not exempted. But the great Act of all was called *An Humble Petition and Advice*, in which the Government was settled upon Cromwel for his life, and upon whom he should nominate to succeed him. While it was in agitation it was mov'd in the House by Alderman Pack (a Knight of Cromwel's making) that he might be desir'd to take upon him the *Title of King*. The *Junto* who knew his mind in part before, presently prosecuted the motion, and appointed *St. John, Glyn, VVhislock, Lisle, Fines, Lenthall*, and others of the like stamp to be a Committee to attend him to that purpose. These men courted him very eagerly to accept of that Title; nor did he seem much averse, yea it is more then probable he thirsted after it; & that the design was fram'd by himself; for *Thurloe*, his Secretary openly promoted

moted it. Nevertheless he shuffled off
 and on in many conferences with
 them at *White-Hall* ; till at length,
 being deterr'd by the non-com-
 pliance of the Army, he answer'd
 that he could not undertake the Go-
 vernment with the Title of King.
 Whereupon it was resolved he
 should be still term'd Protector. By
 this *Petition* amongst many other
 things, it was enacted there should
 be an *Other House* consisting of 70.
 persons to be nominated by *Cromwel*
 himself; and summoned thither by
 writs, as the Peers of *England* were
 wont to be. And this was design'd
 by *Cromwel* as a way to gratifie his
 great Officers, whom he intended by
 this means to make Lords; as also
 to the end, that having effected his
 desires by this *Instrument* who both esta-
 blish'd him in his Government and
 gave him 1900000 l. *per annum*, be-
 sides all Crown-Lands unsold, with

all other Emoluments, to maintain it for his life, if after Parliaments should attempt to rescind these Acts, his other House, might perpetually check them by their negative voice. These Acts being past by him, he was on *June* 26. 1657. solemnly sworn and invested with Robes of Purple Velvet by the Speaker of the *Junto* in *Westminster-Hall*, having also a Sword, a Scepter and a Bible deliver'd to him. In which formalities he return'd home, and the *Junto* prorogued their sitting to the 20. of the next *January*.

In the Spring of this year *Cromwel* according to agreement made with the *French* King sent over 6000. Foot under Col. *Reynolds* into *Flanders* to assist him there against the *Spaniard*; these Auxiliaries did the King of *France* great service in the taking of *Montmedi* and *St. Venant*, two very advantageous places, and
also

also not long after of the strong Fort of *Mardike*. Which the *Spaniards* looking upon as a place of great importance to the keeping of *Dunkirk*, resolv'd to employ their utmost efforts to regain. His Majesty of *Britain* had an Army at that time consisting of 2000. *English*, *Scotch* and *Irish* reformadoes, which despairing of any other occasion to employ as yet, he permitted upon request to be made use of by the King of *Spain*. They were commanded by the Duke of *York*, and amongst other Forces appointed for the attempting of *Mardike*. Accordingly an assault was made upon the place by night, with much resolution and courage; but the assailants were forc'd after six hours conflict, to retire. The *English* and *French* hereupon forthwith begitt *Dunkirk* with a straight siege, the former being commanded by Col. *Lockhart* and the latter by Marshall

Turenne. To oppose this design Don *John of Austria*, the Duke of *York*, the Prince of *Conde*, and the Marquis of *Caracene* assembled 7000. Foot and 9000. Horse, and brought them to *Fuernes* Fort. The besiegers were indeed more numerous, and therefore left sufficient Forces to secure their Trenches, and drew forth the rest to encounter the Enemy's Army. The first onset was made by a *Forlorne hope* of above three hundred *English* Foot, who were seconded by the rest of their Countrymen under *Lockhart*. They charged with such fury upon the *Spanish* Foot (who had advantageously drawn up upon a Sand-Hill) that notwithstanding that difficulty, they totally routed the whole Body. Whereupon the *Spanish* Horse also, seeing their Infantry put to the rout, betook themselves to flight, nor could by any indeavours be perswaded

ded to make a stand. Upon which occasion, the *French* Horse who had stood specters onely of the conflict, fell in upon pursuit of the flying Enemy, from whom they found little opposition but what was made by the Duke of *York's* Regiment, who put such a stop to the impetuous career of the whole *French* Army, as conduc'd much for the safety of the routed *Spaniards*, who otherwise had in all probability been totally cut off. Neverthelesse at length the numerousness of the pursuers overpowred the valour of these Resisters, so that being much tyred with the violence of the encounter, and no relief coming, they were enforced to desert their station and betake themselves to flight. Few of them escaped; among which were the Dukes of *York* and *Glocester*; though the first was not heard of till three dayes after; which gave occa-

sion to a general suspicion that he was taken by the French Forces, and secretly dismiss'd at a fit opportunity by the Marshal of *Turenne*. In this battle of the *Spaniards* 800. Officers were taken prisoners, and 2000. private Souldiers; the number of slain was uncertain. The consequence of it was the losse of *Dunkirk*; the Marquis of *Leyda* (Governor thereof) being slain in a Sally, it was surrendered upon Articles, and by the King of *France* and the Cardinal in person put into the hands of the *English*, *June 25. 1658.*

While these things were in agitation beyond Sea, the pretended Parliament reassembled on *Jan. 20.* and those Members who had been excluded the last Session were now admitted. There was also an assembly of Officers and some few others in the House of Peers, summon'd thither by *Cromwel* as Lords. But the
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Commons, being now a full House, began to review the late Humble Petition and Advice made by a packt *Iunto*, and refus'd to treat with the *Other House* as Lords, Wherefore *Cromwel*. in a great fury hasted to them in a Hackney Coach and having rated them sufficiently dissolved them *Feb. 4.* yet with this word of consolation to his *Other House*, *My Lords! ye are Lords and shall be Lords.* This was the fourth Parliament he dissolved; having before violently turn'd out the *Long-Parliament*, the *little Parliament*, the *Recognition Parliament*, & this garbled *Iunto*. There goes a saying concerning the three latter, which were summoned by *Cromwel* himself; *that the First was called but not chosen, the Second did just nothing, and the Third did nothing just.*

However, *Cromwel* resolv'd to maintain what he had gotten *per fas*.

& nefas. He had called his eldest Son *Richard* out of the Country to inure him to a Court life and Publick Affairs, and placed his second, *Henry*, in *Ireland* in the room of *Fleetwood*, whom he recalled from thence, wanting; as he said, his Presence and Counsel. Moreover he had married his two youngest Daughters in the foregoing *November*, one to Mr. *Rob. Rich.* heir apparent to the Earldome of *Warwick*, and the other to *Thomas* Viscount *Faulconbridge*. And having thus settled himself, he resolv'd to rule at his pleasure, despairing of ever having the compliance of a full and free chosen Parliament. On the twelfth of *March* he sent for *Tichburn* then Lord Mayor of *London*, the Aldermen and Common Council, and acquainting them with the imminent danger of the Commonwealth by reason of secret Machinations from some Ill-willers to
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his Government, gave them order for settling the Militia. Whereupon the guards were doubled and a strict watch was set in all parts of the City. Shortly after divers persons were apprehended and imprisoned; and among others Doctor *John Hewet* Minister of *St. Gregories* near *Paul's*, Mr. *John Russell* brother of the Earle of *Bedford*, Sir *VVilliam Compton* brother of the Earl of *Northampton*, Mr. *John Mordant* brother of the Earle of *Peterburgh*, Sir *Richard VVillis*, Sir *VVilliam Leighton*, & many more of lesse quality. Hereupon follow'd a day of solemn Humiliation, and a High-Court of Iustice; before which was brought first *S. Henry Slingsby* of *Yorkshire*; he was accused of Treason by one *VVaterhouse* and one *Overton* Officers in the Garrison of *Hull*, for conspiring to seize upon that place for the King; Next him was brought to Tryall Dr. *Hewet*; he was impeached

peached of Treason for holding correspondence with the King, and delivering his Commissions to several persons for levying Forces against the Government; But the Doctor refused to own the authority of the Court. The same day Mr. *Mordant* was also arraigned before the said High-Court for a treasonable design; but he made his innocence so apparent against all the evidence, that he was acquitted. Sir *Henry Slingsby* and Doctor *Hewet* received sentence of death (pronounced upon them by President *Lisle*) on the 2. of *June*, and notwithstanding the intercessions of great friends, were beheaded on *Tower-Hill* on the 5. of the same moneth. A few dayes after one *Mallery*, the betrayer of all the rest, was try'd *pro forma* and condemn'd, but repriev'd. Other persons were also try'd, whereof some were acquitted, some condemned and reprieved;

prieved ; but three persons were dealt with in the greatest rigour, being hang'd, and quarter'd, namely, Col. *Edw. Ashton* in *Tower-street* over against *Mark-lane* end, *John Bettely* in *Cheapside*, and *Edmund Stacy* before the old Exchange, *July* 17. These murders were usher'd in with a Fast and concluded with a day of Thanksgiving. Sad newes was this to his Sacred Majesty, who could not but be infinitely sensible of the sufferings of these loyall persons, as well as of the calamitous state his interest was thereby brought into. However he gave not himself up to pensivenesse and unprofitable sorrow, but repaired for a while to *Antwerp* with the two Dukes his Brothers and the Princeesse his Sister, from whence also he went to *Bruxels* and resided there for a good space, being entertain'd there splendidly by *Don John of Austria* and desired

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to be present at most consultations for carrying on the War against the *French*.

In *August Elizabeth Cleypole* daughter to *Cromwel* and wife to one *John Cleypole* dyed at *Hampton-Court*, much troubled in mind by reason of the bloody actions of her Father (as was reported.) But whether it were so or no, this is certain that *Cromwel* never enjoy'd himself after her death, and did not survive her a full moneth. He lay some while in a very sad condition with extreme torment and pain in his bowels; nevertheless he could not endure to think of dying, but said the night before his death, *That God had revealed to him that he should not dye, and that he had a great deal of glorious work for him still to do in these Nations.* But on *Friday Sept. 3.* he departed this life, or as some say on *Aug. 30.* at what time was the most furious violent wind,

wind , that ever hapned in the memory of man. Immediately upon his death , his Council met , and upon the affirmation of Dr. *Goodwin* that he nominated his son *Richard* to succeed him , or for that they judged it the most expedient course , they order'd him to be proclaim'd Protector accordingly. Which was done the next day in the City of *London*, and his new Highnesse took an Oath prescrib'd in the *Humble Petition and Advice*. *Richard*'s first care was the Interment of his Father , and search was made into the Records to see what had been expended upon the buriall of former Kings , to the end greater cost might be bestow'd upon his. All the gaudry was not provided till the 23. of *Novemb.* and then his Image was drawn in great pomp to *Westminster Abbey* and lay'd in a stately Herse. What became of his carcase is not certainly known. Thus
ended

ended this great Tyrant after almost 5. years usurpation, during which he spent vast sums of Treasure to maintain his ill-gotten power, and yet his Funeral charges amounting to above 3.0000 l. are unpaid for at this day. As soon as the ceremonies were over young *Cromwel* was urg'd by his wants of money and other pressing occasions to call a Parliament ; to which end he sent forth writs, (not according to the Instrument of Government, but after the old way, two in a County, &c.) In the mean time many congratulatory addressees were made to him from Counties, Cityes, Burroughs, and Regiments of Soldiers, full of flattery and profaness, some of them comparing the old Tyrant to *Moses* and his Impe to *Ioshua*, the Guides and conductors of Gods people out of *Egyptian* thraldome. The chosen Members assembled at *Westminster* on Jan. 27. and

and so did the *Other House*. Great debates were amongst them touching the recognition of the Government, & transacting with the *Other House* as Lords, (during which two Speakers successively dy'd) till the young Protector being undermined by a Caball of Officers, *Fleetwood*, *Desborough*, &c. weakly yielded to the Dissolving of the Parliament on *Friday April 22*. shortly after which (a Fast being solemniz'd) the remainder of the *Long Parliament* who had been dissolved by *Cromwel* in *April 20*. 1653. were invited by *Lambert* to sit again ; which they did on the 7. of *May*, excluding by violence such of their Fellow-members as they had before secluded in *Decemb. 1648*. though they were the greater number. *Richard* was thereupon depriv'd of his Government, & so was his brother *Harry* in *Ireland*. And now this old *Iunto* being advanc'd again and
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congratulated (as other Governments had formerly been) from *Scotland, Ireland*, and the Fleet, began to act like subtle Politicians. And to the end the Army might be kept in obedience to them, they made the Speaker of the House *General*, cashier'd many Officers, and caus'd new Commissions to be deliver'd by the Speaker in the House of Parliament to all the Commanders both of Land and Sea Forces. The affections of the people they did not much value, so long as the Army would stand to them. To gratifie whom they impos'd a whole years Tax at 35000. *l. per mensem*, to be paid immediately. After which about *July* they pass'd an Act for settling the *Militia* of Counties in such hands as they pleased: But *Lambert* and the other Officers (who intended to have the whole guard of the Rump, and aim'd at other de-

designs) not relishing this proceeding, it was laid aside.

Nothing could have been more odious to the Nation then this re-establishment of the *Rump-Parliament*; who taking these courses to secure the perpetuall continuance of their sitting and resolving never to encrease their number by admitting their fellow-members or new ones legally elected in their places, awakened the spirits of most of the Gentry of the Nation to attempt something for their Countries liberty by restitution of the ancient Government. A great inclination there was in most Counties to take up Armes, and several Offers were made in divers places, but none was so considerable as that in *Cheshire, Lancashire*, and the parts adjoyning under Sir *George Booth*, Sir *Thomas Middleton*, and other Gentlemen in those parts. They declar'd for a full
and

and free Parliament to be elected by the People. Sir *George Booth* had taken *Westchester*, and was reported to be very numerous. Whereupon *Lambert* was sent out against him with an Army of six or seven thousand men, and a train of Artillery; moreover forces from all quarters were appointed to draw to him, so that all meeting he had a very puissant Army. The party under Sir *George Booth* had been in Armes a good time before *Lambert* came against them in expectation that other Counties would have done the like; but this hope failing, upon *Lambert's* approach, many of them withdrew from him. The rest came to an encounter with *Lambert* at *Northwich*, and were without much difficulty defeated. The number of the slain was not many, but the Prisoners were in great multitudes; Sir *George Booth* himself was also with-
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in a few dayes after taken in a disguise in an Inne at *Newport-Pagnel* in *Bedfordshire* as he was coming up to *London*. Persons of quality taken besides him were the Earle of *Derby*, the Lord *Kilmurrey*, Major General *Ranulph Egerton*, Sir *William Neile*, Sir *Thomas Powel* of *Flintshire*, Col. *Massey* of *Cheeshire*, Major *Peter Brook*. The Earle of *Stamford* and Sir *Thomas Leventhorp* were also imprison'd in other places with some hundreds of Gentlemen for designing to levy war against the Commonwealth. The *Rump* overjoy'd with this successe presented *Lambers* with 1000. *l.* to buy him a jewel, but he thought it more suitable to his designes to distribute it amongst his Army.

During these actions in *England* his Majesty privately withdrew from *Bruxells* together with the Duke of *York*; it was imagin'd by many that they

they were come concealed into *England* in expectation of the event, or at least lay upon the Sea-coasts ready to have transported some forces in a Fleet which rode upon the Coast of *Flanders*, in case matters had succeeded prosperously. But not long after the suppression of the *Cheshire* Insurrection, they appeared again at *Bruxells*; from whence his Majesty dispatcht an Embassadour to attend with certain Proposals at the Interview of Cardinal *Mazarini* for the *French* King and Don *Lewis de Haro* for the *Spanish*, who met upon the confines to treat a Peace between the two Crowns and a Marriage between the King of *France* and the *Infanta* of *Spain*. The Embassadour was entertain'd by the two grand Ministers with very high testimonies of honour and respect, and promised to have his Master's Interest taken into consideration as soon as the concerns

cernments of their own would permit.

But in *England* the pretended Parliament fell eagerly to their old beloved Trade of Sequestration and determin'd, to exercise the utmost of severity upon the actors in the late Insurrection. And no doubt they they would have prosecuted their intentions, had not Providence diverted their malice by a breach which fell out between them and the principal Officers of the Army. *Lambert* (whose ambition instigated to him to be so active in the late change of Government, and so popular in the management of his late expedition) together with other grand Officers thought the Parliament so oblig'd to them for restoring them to Power and preserving them in it, that they conceiv'd none of their demands ought to be denyed. Whereupon at their return to *London*, a Petition was

was presented to the House by *Desborough*, for a *General*. The *Iunto* remembering how their former *General* had serv'd them not only denied this request, but vacated the Commissions of *Lambert*, *Desborough* and 7. others, and voted the supreme command of the Army into the hands of seven Commissioners, whereof two or three were Army-men, the others Members of Parliament. *Lambert* and his Companions were so incensed herewith that upon the 11. of *Octob.* Forces were drawn out on either side at *Westminster*; those for the *Iunto* commanded by *Haselrig*, *Morley* and others; those for the Army, by *Lambert* himself, *Desborough*, *Berry*, and other Colonels; and had not the Council of State interpos'd, they had charg'd one another. Nevertheless the Army-party prevail'd, and turn'd the *Rump* out of doors,
Oct.

Oct. 13. Which being done the great Officers being assembled in Council at *Wallingford-house* dispos'd of commands among themselves, *Fleetwood* was made General, *Lambert* Lieutenant General, *Desborough* General of the Horse, and that they might satisfy Gen. *Monck* too, who govern'd *Scotland*, they made him Major General of the Foot. As for civil Affairs they erected a *Committee of Safety*, consisting chiefly of Army-Officers and some Members of the dissolved *Junto*, who sided with them, as *Vane*, *Salwey*, &c. The council of Officers also for satisfaction of the people put forth a Declaration concerning their late proceedings, charging the *Rump* with high Crimes, and making void their late pretended Acts. Moreover they appointed certain persons to frame a Model of Government: which no question would have prov'd an excellent

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cellent one, when onely Sword-men and Tradesmen were to be the contrivers. But that which check'd their contentment in these courses was the dissatisfaction of Gen. *Monck* in *Scotland*. Letters of expostulation past to and fro between the General and *Fleetwood* ; but the *English* Army in the mean time prepar'd to march against him forthwith, and was led towards the North by *Lambert*, consisting of about 12000. men. The General seeing them thus beforehand with him, sent Commissioners to *Westminster* to treat , yet with all march'd Southward with what Forces he could raise and fortifi'd *Berwick* upon *Tweed*. The Commissioners going beyond their Instructions , the General was not satisfi'd with the Treaty , and therefore soon after desir'd another at *New-Castle* ; during which he call'd a *Convention of Estates* in *Scotland*,
who

who not only approved his undertaking but assisted him in it. While things stood thus, the City of *London*, though they well enough lik'd the turning out of the *Rump*, would by no means join with the Army; But about the beginning of *December*, the Apprentices and some others fram'd a Petition to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen for a *Free Parliament*; the Souldiers understanding it interpos'd, and a great hurlyburly thereupon arose in the City, some being slain and others wounded. *Fleetwood* was therefore desir'd to draw his Forces out of the City; but instead of doing that he placed Garrisons in several parts of it, threatning to fire it if the Citizens stir'd. At the same time *Haselrig*, *Morley* and some other Rumpers seis'd on *Portsmouth*, and declar'd against the Army; and part of the Navy under Vice-Admiral *Lawson* did the like, and blockt up

the *Thames*. The City in this condition would declare neither for *Parliament* nor *Army*, but still desired a free *Parliament*, which at last was consented to upon divers enslaving qualifications and proclaim'd by the *Committee of Safety* to begin on *Jan.* 24. Upon the borders all this while nothing was done, the Treaty took no effect; neverthelesse Gen. *Monck* kept from engaging, nor was it possible for *Lambert* to draw him to it, whose Forces quartered in a cold barren Country, unable to march by reason of the hardnesse of the weather. At length *Fleetwood* having treated with *Lawson* to no effect, and his souldiers being ready to mutiny for want of pay, was forced out of apprehension of worse consequence, to give over ruling; and the *Rump* slipt into the House again on *Decemb.* 26. late in the evening by Torch-light. Upon the news hereof

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Lambers's Army deserted him, and General *Monck* enter'd into *England* with his, about the 6. of Jan.

Whilst affairs were thus turbulent in *England*, his Majesty being at *Diepe* in *Normandy* receiv'd an invitation from Don *Lewis de Haro* the great *Spanish* Minister at the Frontier of *Spain*. Which his Majesty accepting, rid post *incognito* through *France*, being accompanied onely with the Lord Marquis of *Ormond*, and the Earl of *Bristol*. Upon information of his approach to *Bayonne*, the *Spanish* Favourite went forth with a splendid Traine to meet him, and upon the first sight of him alighted from his Horse, and notwithstanding the inconvenience of the place, in a very humble posture embraced his Majesty's knees; from whence also he conducted him (riding all the way bareheaded) to the best lodgings the place afforded. On the next day

his Majestie was visited by *Mazarini*, whom he entertain'd with that discreet warinesse that he let him know he sufficiently understood his projects. The result of his Majestie's consultations with Don *Lewis*, was, that the Favorite in his Masters name promised him all assistance both of men and mony, as soon as the conclusion of the *French* peace permitted. Whereupon his Majesty after high caresses and treatments, returned privately by Post to *Paris*, where staying with the Queen his Mother some few dayes, he departed to his former residence at *Brussels*.

This private journey occasion'd so certain a belief in the Sectarians here in power, that his Majesty and the Duke of *York* (who lay at *Calis*) were come over into *England*, that many persons were apprehended for them and particularly one Mr. *Colt* was taken and imprison'd for the
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the Duke of York, and others also for his Majesty.

We left Gen. *Monck* upon his march out of *Scotland* ; all parties had their hopes fixt upon him , the *Rump* presuming by his assistance to quell the refractory City ; and the Citizens , that he would enforce the *Rump* either to call in the Members secluded in *Dec.* 1648. or to fill up the House with new Elections ; yet none knew certainly his intentions. During his March he was address'd to by several Counties , for the same things that the City desir'd, who also sent their *Swordbearer* as far as *New-Castle* to congratulate his coming, and tender the respects and affections of the City to him. Yet he gave such answers as were not satisfactory to any. The *Rump* also sent two of their Members (*Robinson* and *Scot*) to wait upon him , but indeed rather as spies to watch and observe him. At *St.*

Albans some Aldermen and Common-Council men of *London* were sent to him from the City to court him, but were return'd, as all others, only with thanks for their respects. On *Friday Feb. 3.* he marched into *London*, and was lodg'd at *White-hall*; being much carels'd by the *Rump*, and receiv'd their thanks in the House. The City continuing still their refractoriness to the *Rump*; and perceiving they so delay'd the filling up of the House, as if they never intended it, on *Tuesday Feb. 5.* pass'd a Vote in Common Council, not to pay or levy any Taxes until such time as they might have a full & free Parliament. This so enrag'd the *Rump* that they order'd the General to march with his Army into the City, pull up the Chains and Posts, break down the Gates and Portcullis, and imprison divers Aldermen and Commissioners. Which
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was accordingly executed the next day to the great terror and amazement, not onely of the City, but of the whole Nation when they heard the report of it.

But this consternation did not last long; for the General reflecting on the odious service the *Rump* had put him upon, and apprehending their intentions to retrench his power (which indeed his Commission being that day expir'd they did accordingly, joyning him with some of their Members and Officers in the supreme command of the Army) on *Saturday Feb. 11.* drew his Army into *Finsbury fields*, and presently after upon some conference with the Lord Mayor and some chief Citizens, writ a Letter to the *Iunto*, as from *White-Hall*, subscribed by Himself and 14. of his chief Officers, wherein he told them with what regret he had executed their late Orders

in relation to the Chaines, Posts and Gates of the City, which he fear'd would be so far from answering the expected end, that it would rather encrease the discomposure of mens spirits in the Nations; minding them also, That the ground of his coming into England was, not only to return them to their trust, but also to vindicate the Liberties of the People, &c. He also complain'd, That Lambert, Vane and others, impeached of Treason, & that had acted in the illegal and tyrannical Committee of Safety, were yet suffer'd to continue in and about the City, and some too in the House and in the Army, &c. That they were contriving to take away the maintenance of the Ministry; That they were framing another Oath to impose upon the people, and to that purpose had countenanced a bold and dangerous Petition from the Fanatick Party. And lastly he desir'd, That by
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the Fryday following they would issue out *VVrits* for filling up the House upon due and reasonable *Qualifications*, and put a certain and speedy period to their sitting, according to their frequent *Declarations*. This Letter produc'd not greater regret in the *Rump*, then it did joy to the City and whole Kingdome; which was testifi'd at night by Bone-fires and ringing of Bells, &c.

The time set for filling the House being expir'd, and nothing done by the *Rump* in order thereunto, the formerly seclused Members upon addresse to the General, and engaging to him not to be against a single person, were on *Feb. 21.* permitted to take their seats in the House, after 11. years exclusion. The House now augmented by above a 100. Members, take care for settling the Nations; and first they constituted General *Monck* Commander in chief of
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all the forces of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, Sir *VVilliam VValler* Lieutenant General, Colonel *Rossiter* General of the Horse, General *Montague* Admiral of Sea. Then they appointed a New *Council of State* consisting of Gen. *Monck*, the Lord *Fairfax*, Mr. *Annesley*, Sir *VVilliam VValler*, Mr. *Hollis*, Gen. *Montagu* and others to the number of 30. And with all speed they released severall Gentlemen imprison'd by the *Rump*, and amongst others Sir *Geo. Booth*; ordering also the Ciry. Gates to be repaired at the publick charge. And lastly having made provision for settling the Militia of the Kingdome, and calling a new Parliament to convene at *Westminster* *April* 25. they dissolved themselves by Act on *Friday March* 16. And thus ended that unhappy Long Parliment after almost 19. years from their first assembling, having

ving been interrupted for 5. years together by *Cromwel*, and for ten weeks by *Lambert*.

His Majesty in the mean time remov'd from the *Spanish* Court at *Brussels* to *Bruges* in *Flanders*; and resided there for a good space; but being now in fair hopes of restitution to his Dominions departed from thence toward the latter end of *March* to *Breda*, a handsome Town situate in *Brabant*, about 10. leagues from *Antwerp*, and belonging to the Prince of *Orange*.

In this interval the Council of State prudently manag'd affairs, proclaiming against all disturbers of the peace, under whatsoever pretence, and tendring an engagement for peaceable demeanour to be subscrib'd by such as they suspected of disturbance, which *Lambert* refusing, was committed to the *Tower*. The General also purg'd his Army of Fanatics,

naticks, both Officers & Souldiers, & sent down two Colonels to displace *Overton* from the Garrison of *Hull*, which he pretended to keep till the coming of *Iesus Christ*. But about the midst of *April* a great disturbance had like to have hapned. For *Lambert* having made an escape out of the Tower, appear'd in armes about *Northampton* in the head of a party, many cashier'd souldiers and fanaticks repairing to him. But this danger was timely remov'd by Col. *Rich. Ingoldsby*, who without fighting took *Lambert* with his own hand, and sent him up to *London* prisoner, together with a son of *Hastilrig's*, Col. *Cobbet* and Major *Creed*. They were brought by Coach through *Hide Park* on *April 24.* at which time 20000. Horse and Foot of City Regiments and Auxiliaries were training there.

The Parliament according to appoint-

pointment assembled at *Westminster*, & chose Sir *Harbottle Grimston* Speaker, the Nobility also taking their places in the upper-House by virtue of their Peerage, & choosing the Earle of *Manchester* Speaker. Within a few dayes after their meeting, the Lord Viscount *Mordant* and Sir *Iohn Greenville* one of the Gentlemen of his Majestie's Bed-chamber, arrived at *London* with Letters from his Majesty dated at *Breda April* $\frac{4}{14}$. One was to the House of *Peers*, another to the House of Commons, another to Gen. *Monck* and his Officers, and another to the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Common Council of *London*. These Letters were accompanied with a Declaration, and delivered accordingly on *May-day*. The two Houses received them with great joy and loyal affection, & so did his Excellency and the City;
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from whom Sir John Greenville received 200 l. and 500 l. from the Parliament, as a gratuity, to buy him a Jewel. The Letters were full of very gracious expressions, and in the Declaration his Majesty offer'd I. *A Free and General Pardon to be passed under the Great Seale to all persons whatsoever, who within 40. dayes after the publication thereof shall sue it out; Excepting such as should be excepted by the Parliament.* II. *A liberty to tender consciences in matters of Religion, so as the peace of the Kingdome be not disturb'd, and to pass such an Act to that effect, as the Parliament should think fit to offer.* III. *The determination concerning Sales and Purchases, to the Parliament.* IV. *And lastly, satisfaction of Arrears to the Officers and Souldiers of Gen. - Monck's Army, and reception of them into his own service upon as good pay and conditions as they now enjoy.* Hereupon the

the House of Commons Voted his Majesty's Letters and Declaration satisfactory, and the Government to be in King, Lords and Commons; soon after which both Houses ordered a certain number of their Members to go to his Majesty with Letters, and to invite him to his Kingdomes; also 50000 l. was ordered to be immediately sent to him, 10000 l. to the Duke of *York* and 5000 l. to the Duke of *Glocester*. The City also deputed several worthy Members to wait upon his Majesty with a Letter, and 10000 l. as a present. Moreover Admiral *Montague* was commanded to attend him upon the coasts of *Holland* with a squadron of Ships. But the General first of all dispatht away his Brother Sir *Thom. Clarges* with a Letter to his Majesty, wherein was enclos'd an Adresse of the Officers professing their Allegiance to his Majesty. On
Tuesday

Tuesday, May 8. his Majesty was solemnly proclaimed in *London*, and soon after in all Countries. Cities, and Borroughs of *England*, and that with greater transports of joy then had ever been known upon the like or any other occasion. In the mean time great numbers of persons of quality daily flocked over to *Breda* to his Majesty, who stay'd not long there, but removed to the *Hague*, where himself and the *English* Gentry were splendidly entertain'd at the charge of the States, who also presented him with gifts of great value. From thence the Queen of *Bohemia* with the Princeesse of *Orange*, and the young Prince, accompanied his Majesty and the two Dukes to the Seaside, where they were entertain'd in the *Naseby* with a magnificent collation, and so his Majesty took leave of them, and set sail for *England*. At his landing at *Dover* he was met by
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the General, who immediately kneel'd to kisse his Royal hand; but his Majesty embraced him graciously and took him with his two Brothers into his Coach to *Dover*, where after a Treatment by the Magistrates, he rid to *Canterbury*, where he was met by the Ma, or and Citizens, who presented him a golden Cup full of gold; and the Ministers, who presented him a Bible.

Having rested there on *Sunday*, the next day he went to *Cobham*. House, and on *Tuesday May 29.* (being his Birth-day) he came towards *London*, attended by the Duke of *Buckingham*, the Earles of *Northampton*, *Norwich*, *Shrewsbury*, *Litchfield*, *Cleveland*, the Lord *Mordant*, and Sir *John Robinson*, with their severall Troops of the chiefeft Nobles and gentry of the Kingdome, and the General with ten Regiments of his best horse, besides

sides innumerable companies of people that flock'd from all the adjacent Counties. On *Blackheath* near *Greenwich* he was met by Major General *Brown* with a gallant Company of young Citizens and others, &c. and at *Southwark* he was met by the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, & 300. Citizens in Velvet Coats and Gold Chaines representing the several Companies, and entertain'd with a Collation in a Tent erected on purpose; and from thence about 5. a clock in the afternoon he rode into the City between his two Brothers, the streets being on one side beset with the several Companies in their Gownes and on the other with Souldiers, the windowes adorn'd with Tapistry and other hangings, the Conduits running with Wine and the people testifying their joy with incessant shoutings and Acclamations.

Arri-

Arriving at *White-Hall*, the Speakers of both Houses congratulated his return in two solemn Speeches, to which his Majesty answer'd that the People's acclamation (together with his journey) though gratefull to him as demonstrations of affection, had so disordered him that he could not give such an answer as he desir'd. But they should find him a sincere Defender of the Lawes and Liberties of the people, and the Parliament should not be more ready to ask his consent to any thing fitting to be done then he would be to grant it. After which he retir'd out of the Banqueting House to his Lodgings.

Thus we have trac'd out all the principal actions of this great King's Life, in his Infancy, Youth, and Manhood to this present, as well in his own Territories as beyond the Seas, and withall given an account
of

of the most considerable events here in *England* during the Oligarchy of the late long-Parliament, and the Tyranny of *Ol. Cromwel*. In all which we have endeavour'd to give an impartiall Relation with as much brevity as the smalness of this Volume (containing more strange occurrences then have hapned in some Ages) would permit. May the God of Heaven, who of his infinite and undeserved mercy towards these poor Nations hath restor'd his Majesty to his Dominions, long preserve his Sacred Person for the good both of Church and Commonwealth, and multiply the years of his Reign in Honour, and Prosperity.

Glory be to God on High; and on Earth Peace and good Will towards Men.

F I N I S.

ERRATA.

Pag. 118. l. 11. read *greater honour.*

Pag. 273. l. 8. for at *Salisbury*, read at
Exeter.

Pag. 320. l. 24. read & *Commoners.*